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THE ECCLESIASTICAL REVIEW

SEVENTH SERIES.—VOL. I.—(LXI).—DECEMBER, 1919.—No 6.

THE SANCTUARY OF THE NATIVITY.[1]

THE Basilica of the Nativity in Bethlehem is the work of Constantine; and neither the reconstruction which took place during the reign of the emperor Justinian, nor the repairs made by the Crusaders, nor the works accomplished by the religious of St. Francis for the conservation of this famous monument have ever changed the main lines of the edifice of the fourth century.

The interior of the Basilica consists of five naves, separated by four rows of Corinthian monolith columns. The walls of the central nave, above the architraves, were clothed, in the twelfth century, with splendid decorations in mosaic on a golden background, of which to-day, alas, only a few fragments remain, and these, too, considerably damaged by time and Greek depredations.

The grotto of the Nativity is under the ground, and the descent is made by two stairways, one at each side of the choir. It is in the form of an irregular rectangle, some forty feet long and averaging a little over ten feet in width. To the extreme east, in the wall which is situated between the exits of the aforesaid stairs, there is visible a small crypt which contains the *altar of the Nativity*. A Latin inscription engraved on a silver star marks the spot where the glorious birth took place: "Hic de Virgine Maria Jesus Christus natus est."

[1] This paper was written at the request of the Most Rev. Seraphin Cimino, Minister General of the Friars Minor, by Signor Paschal Baldi of Rome. It was presented to the Delegates at the Paris Peace Conference to set forth the claims of the Catholic missionaries of St. Francis to the guardianship and conservation of the Holy Places in Palestine. The paper was printed *pro manuscripto*. The English translation is by the Very Rev. Fulgence Meyer, O.F.M., of Rome.

On the southern wall, at about ten feet from the altar of the Nativity, is another crypt deeper than the former, to which the descent is made by three steps. The marble crib to the right reminds us of the manger where the Divine Babe received the adoration of the shepherds. The altar to the left is consecrated to the Three Kings.

To the extreme left of the grotto, facing the altar of the Nativity, is the door which leads to the other chapels, consecrated to St. Joseph, the Holy Innocents, St. Jerome, St. Eusebius of Cremona, St. Paula of Rome, and her daughter Eustochium.

The rule of the Saracens, supervening in 1187, did not suspend the Christian cult in Bethlehem, and at all times the Catholic priests could celebrate the divine services there according to the Roman rite.[2]

It is almost certain that the armistice of 1229-1239 between Frederic II and the Sultan Malek-el-Kamel brought back to Bethlehem the same chapter of Canons Regular of St. Augustine which during the twelfth century had provided for the worship in the sanctuary of the Nativity.

[2] In 1192 the bishop of Salisbury, Hubert Walter, obtained from Saladin the favor of having priests of the Latin rite put in charge of the worship in the sanctuary of the Nativity. "Deux prêtres et deux diacres de son choix furent attachés à la basilique, où quelques membres du clergé indigène avaient également reçu l'autorisation d'officier. Ces clercs latins appartenaient vraisemblablement aux chanoines réguliers de saint Augustin, qui formaient encore le chapitre de Bethléem, bien que résidant en dehors de cette localité, à Saint-Jean d'Acre, à Ascalon et ailleurs, suivant les hasards de la guerre" (Vincent et Abel, *Bethléem, Le Sanctuaire de la Nativité*, Paris, Lecoffre, 1914, c. V, p. 188).

In 1217 Tictmar wrote of Bethlehem: "Bethleem, civitas Dei summi, sita est in iugo montis. . . . Quam quidem tenent Christiani Sarracenis subiugales. Et creditur quod Sarracenus non debet ibi esse stacionarius. Sunt tamen quidam Sarraceni custodes ad limina monasterii deputati, a peregrinis intraeuntibus pedagium accipientes; qui tamen ibi residenciam non faciunt. . . . In eodem monasterio in capite ecclesie est spelunca, ubi Dominus natus est. In qua ego peccator deoscuiabar presepe, in quo Dominus parvulus vagiit, et adoravi in loco, ubi beata virgo puerpera Deum fudit infantem" ("Peregrinatio", X, p. 28).

Toward the end of the twelfth century the Latin rite was likewise celebrated in the basilica of the Nativity, as we are assured by Broccardo da Monte Sion "Descriptio T. S.", IX, pp. 78-79) and Ricoldo da Monte Croce ("Liber Peregrinacionis", V, pag. 110).

Riant[3] is of the opinion that it remained there also after 1244, when like a devastating hurricane the hordes of the Carismites passed through Palestine. To repair the damages inflicted by these barbarians on the Constantinian basilica the services of an Italian, Godefrido de' Prefetti Signore di Vico, Bishop of Bethlehem, were used, and he collected in Europe the alms necessary to perform the required repairs.[4]

When in 1291 the Latin reign of Jerusalem definitely came to an end, all direct or indirect participation of the chapter of Bethlehem in the sanctuary of the Nativity also ceased. Perhaps the supposition is not improbable, that there was some connexion, some sort of continuity, between the jurisdiction exercised in the thirteenth century by the Canons Regular of St. Augustine and the jurisdiction assumed by the Minors in the first years of the fourteenth century; but the documents to prove this are wanting. The date of the first entrance of the sons of St. Francis in Bethlehem is involved in obscurity.

The fact, however, that neither the friars of the cord nor, on their behalf, their sovereign protectors took steps to obtain the right of officiating in the basilica of Bethlehem, whereas they employed long, laborious and repeated negotiations to procure from the sultans of Egypt the same privilege with regard to the Holy Sepulchre, leads to the belief that this right was already obtained by the Minors for the sanctuary of the Nativity.

A passage of Fra Niccolò da Poggibonsi throws a little light on the question: " Having returned to the church of Bethlehem, which is to-day in the possession of the sons of St. Francis, to whom it was given by Medephar, the sultan of Babylonia; and the friars entered when I was in Jerusalem " (1347).[5]

Now Sultan *Medephar* (Mozaffer, Rokneddin or Bibars II) occupied the throne in 1309-1310; consequently the possession of the sanctuary of the Nativity on the part of the Franciscans would have commenced in the beginning of the fourteenth century, although much later, namely in 1346, as Fra Niccolò da

[3] Riant, *Études sur l'histoire de l'Église de Bethléem*, Gênes, Imprimerie de l'Institut Royal des Sourds-muets, 1889, c. V, p. 30.

[4] Riant, op. cit., c. V, p. 35; Röhricht, *Regesta Regni Hierosolymitari*, Addimentum, Oeniponti, Libraria Academica Wagneriana, 1904, n. 1130, p. 71; *L'Église de Bethléem en Varazze, en Ligurie*, " Atti Società Ligure ", t. XVII, pp. 573-575.

[5] *Libro d'oltramare*, vol. I, c. CIX, p. 236.

Poggibonsi tells us, the friars of the cord established a permanent dwelling near the Crib of Jesus.

At all events, it is certain that as early as the first half of the fourteenth century the Latins had the exclusive possession of the grotto of the Nativity. We are told this by Fra Giacomo di Verona in 1335;[6] and it is repeated shortly after by Ludolph of Sudheim;[7] and after them by all the Western and Eastern pilgrims who from the fourteenth to the seventeenth century left written memoirs of their voyages to the Holy Land. The schismatic communities were only allowed to officiate in the upper church at some altar set aside for this purpose, and in the beginning this concession was most likely restricted to the days of great solemnity.

Thus in 1384 the Florentine Lionardo Frescobaldi speaks of the basilica of Bethlehem, "which was built by St. Helen, the mother of Emperor Constantine, which is in charge of the Frankish Christians, namely those of our faith; who are under the Guardian of Mount Sion of the order of St. Francis".[8]

About 1420 the Russian Zosimus relates that "the grotto is guarded by a chaplain, that is to say, by a Frankish priest".[9]

In the second half of the same century another Russian pilgrim speaks "of the large convent of St. Catherine" adjoining the sanctuary of the Nativity, where "dwell many monks and two sons of the kings of the Franks".[10]

Likewise Ignatius of Smolensk (1389-1405) observes, that the Franks officiate above the Crib and that the Franciscan Fathers occupy the ancient monastery situated to the north of the basilica.[11]

[6] "Altare majus superius est Grecorum, altare inferius, juxta presepium, est Francorum cristianorum, in quo altari missam solemniter celebravi, et eramus ultra quam centum Franci cristiani, et erant ibi duo predicatores, duo Minores et plures clerici et sacerdotes peregrini seculares, et fecimus pulcherimum officium ad laudem Dei" (*Liber peregrinationis*, p. 65).

[7] "In nocte Nativitatis Domini omnes nationes, quae sub coelo sunt, prout decet, ibidem conveniunt, et una quaeque natio ad divinum officium, ad ritum suum agendum, in hac ecclesia specialem habet locum, ad hoc sibi in perpetuum deputatum. Latini habent tunc locum, quo Deus natus erat homo: et sic singulae nationes, singula habent loca" (citato dal Golubowich, *Biblioteca, ecc.*, vol. IV; Fonti storiche).

[8] *Viaggio in T. S.* di Lionardo Frescobaldi e d'altri, del sec. XIV, p. 102.

[9] Vie et Pélerinage du Diacre Zosime, 1419-1421. *Itinéraires Russes en Orient*, p. 216.

[10] Pélerinage du Marchand Basile, 1465-66. *Itin Russes*, p. 251.

[11] ". . . . De là il y a sinq verstes jusqu'à *Bethléem*, où Notre Seigneur est

Still clearer, Grethenios (v. 1400) tells us that the basilica belongs to the Latins, although the Greeks are in possession of the high altar.[12]

In 1461 Louis of Rochechouart wrote: "Quando stetimus in ecclesia Bethleem . . . fecerunt Fratres Minores, qui custodes sunt illius sanctissime ecclesie, processionem solemnem et nobis ostenderunt sanctissima loca".[13]

About 1500 Suriano writes: "Bethlehem in olden times was a city . . . but at present it is reduced to a village of a hundred and fifty hearths; at a distance of a bow-shot from the houses is the glorious church where Christ was born, and a large and stupendous monastery; this is inhabited by our friars. And it is under the government of the Father Guardian of Mount Sion; . . . And into the sacred grotto, where our Savior was born . . . the descent is made by two stairs . . . The doors of these stairs are of metal . . . The keys of which we friars keep.[14]

In 1534 Greffin Affagart spoke thus of the holy grotto: ". . . en ceste très saincte chappelle, ardant nuict et jour, y a grande multitude de lampes entretenues par les Frères de Saint Françoys lesquels sont députéz au lieu de toute l'Eglise latine pour maintenir et gouverner ce très sainct lieu. . . . Au cousté de ceste prédicte église, vers septentrion, est le monastère des Cordeliers, auquel lieu sont ordinairement huit ou neuf pour maintenir les sainct lieulx, et entre le prédict monastère et la grande église y a une chapelle fondée de saincte Khatarine, en laquelle les Frères célèbrent les heures canoniales".[15]

né; il y a une grande église à *Bethléem*, et sous l'autel se trouve la grotte, et dans cette grotte, à gauche, se trouve la crèche ou fut couché Notre Seigneur Jésus Christ emmaillotté; de la crèche au lieu de la Nativité il y a trois sagènes. Les Francs officient au dessus de la crèche et les Grecs au-dessus de la cavité; à Bethléem, à gauche, se trouve le couvent franc et il y a là *l'Eglise de la Nativité du Christ* où officient les Francs. Dans ce même couvent franc se trouvent la maison de Joseph et les puits d'où buvaient Notre Seigneur Jésus Christ et sa très sainte Mère" (c. VII, *Itin. Russes*, p. 154).

[12] ". . . . les *Francs ont cette église sous leur dépendance*. Sur le saint autel, au dessus de la grotte, officient le prêtre chrétien et le patriarche *les jours de fêtes*, et les autres hérétiques sur leurs autels respectifs" (c. XV, *Itin. Russes*, pag. 182).

[13] *Journal de Voyage à Jérusalem*, p. 93.

[14] *Il Trattato di Terra Santa*, c. LXVI, pp. 121-123.

[15] *Relation de Terre Sainte*, pp. 134-136.

Many pages could be filled with similar testimonies; but those we have cited are already more than sufficient to demonstrate that the Church of the Nativity, after the thirteenth century, was always under the immediate jurisdiction of the Franciscan religious; that they alone had the keys of the grotto of the Crib; they alone possessed the right to officiate there [16] and to suspend lamps; finally they alone had their permanent dwelling in a large convent adjoining the sanctuary. From this convent the Minors could enter when they pleased into the Constantinian basilica and from there into the sanctuary of the Nativity by either of the two stairs that lead to it, or they could go down directly into the Crib of our Lord by crossing the adjoining grottoes of St. Jerome, the Holy Innocents and St. Joseph.[17]

The Turkish firmans supply new demonstrative titles for the possessions of the Latins. Thus a document of 1565 acknowledges the exclusive right of the Franks to the Crib before and after the conquest of Jerusalem; it affirms that the keys of it have always been in their hands, and decrees that no one can force them to open its doors or let others suspend lamps in it.[18]

Another document of the same year tells us that the possession by the Franks of the place of the Nativity is anterior to the conquest of Selim I: "It is they, the Franks, who open the doors of it to all the Mussulmans and Christians who live in or come to Jerusalem and who desire to visit this place. It is not known that they have ever ceased to possess the keys of the said grotto, nor that anyone dispossessed them of it or contested their right. The Franks have been in constant and

[16] For whatever act of worship the oriental communities wanted to perform in the grotto of the Crib, they had to have permission from the Latin religious. "A Noël les rites orientaux gravitent autour du gardien des Frères Mineurs qui octroie au clergé indigène l'autorisation de bénir du pain sur l'autel de la Nativité. En reconnaissance de cette faveur, le clergé indigène remet trois pains bénits et trois cierges au supérieur des religieux latins. A la messe de minuit que ceux-ci chantent à l'autel principal de la crypte, assistent les fidèles et les prêtres des différents rites, à l'exception des principaux membres du clergé grec" (Vincent et Abel, op. cit., pp. 194, 195).

[17] Suriano, op. cit., p. 123. The consecration of the last-named grotto in honor of the holy patriarch did not take place until the beginning of the seventeenth century.

[18] De Testa, op. cit., vol. III, p. 313.

uninterrupted possession of it from the most ancient times until to-day ".[19]

In a Chatty-Shérif of 1604 we read: "The Frankish religious, those of the Holy Sepulchre as well as those of Bethlehem, can keep lamps and other lights lit in their churches day and night, without ever being hindered from doing so or reprehended for it by anyone subject to our authority. We desire and grant that, if anything has been taken from them to be given to other nations, be it relics, chapels or other places which they may have possessed, or in which they may have worshipped, it be restored to them. . . . "[20]

In 1611 we read again: "The Frank religious must be maintained in the possession of the sanctuaries and of the large church of Bethlehem, for they have possessed them without interruption even before Omar conquered the city of Jerusalem. It is forbidden to the Greeks and Armenians to molest the Frank religious, for to these alone is reserved the right to suspend lamps in the said sanctuaries ".[21]

And in 1621: "The Frank religious, the ancient possessors of the large church of Bethlehem . . . have, of their own free will, granted to each of the other Christian communities sanctuaries in the upper church; but as regards the nether part, the place where Jesus Christ was born—all hail to Him!—this is the sanctuary of the Frank religious. No other nation has any right to it; and it is forbidden to every one of them to usurp the said place. . . . We ordain that no one, whether Armenian or of any other nation, be permitted to celebrate Mass in the place where Jesus Christ was born, the place situated under the church of Bethlehem. And if the Armenians or others should say: 'We have orders and titles', and if they should usurp rights to the places belonging to the Franks, or start another quarrel in this regard, you will not suffer it and you will order the Frank religious to be reinstated in the possession of the places above mentioned ".[22]

And in 1632—to pass over in silence other firmans of 1627 and 1630[23]—a new document of the Sublime Porte obliges the

[19] Ibid., p. 313.
[20] Ibid., p. 315.
[21] Ibid., p. 316.
[22] Ibid., p. 316.
[23] Ibid., p. 317.

Armenians and the Greeks " to leave to the Frankish religious the entire possession of the church of Bethlehem, and to consign to them the respective keys. . . . [24]

This monotonous exposition of juridical titles emanating from Constantinople would be tiresome, but unfortunately Greek craftiness is never tired of finding new ways and of plotting new schemes to effect the desired usurpations.

With the possession of the sanctuary of the Nativity the Franciscans had also assumed the custody of the artistic monument; and Christianity is indebted to them, that the edifice has survived the sad centuries of the Moslem rule. But for the Minors we should certainly have only shapeless ruins to-day.

An Arabian chronicler writing about 1500, says regarding the basilica of Bethlehem: " From the country of the Franks come large sums of money destined for its conservation and for the maintenance of the monks who live in the convent adjoining the church ".[25]

Moudjir-ed-dyn doubtless wrote under the impression of the grand restoration which the Franciscans had finished precisely in the second half of the fifteenth century.[26]

At this time the sanctuary of the Nativity finally yielded to the decaying forces of time, assisted, alas, by the injuries inflicted by men.[27]

[24] Ibid., p. 317.

[25] Moudjir-en-dyn, *Histoire de Jérusalem et d'Hébron*, p. 201.

[26] We here speak only of the more important repairs; other partial ones were made by the Minors in the sanctuary of the Nativity at divers times; thus in 1411 (Razzoli, p. 59; Marcellino da Civezza, *Storia Universale delle Missioni Francescane*, vol. IV, c. VIII, p. 348, ecc.). V. also the long list of permissions obtained by the Franciscans to repair this or that part of the Constantinian edifice from 1396-1633, the originals of which are preserved in the archives of the H. L. (*Diarium T. S.*, ann. IV, n. I-II, pp. 29, 30).

[27] " Avec le XVe siècle la ruine s'attaque plus gravement au sanctuaire de la Nativité, en particulier aux revêtements de marbre et à la toiture. Les mosaïques, par endroits, commencent aussi à se dégrader. A la lecture des pélerins, ces constatations navrantes sonnent comme un glas. En 1422, des plaques de marbre manquent déjà aux murs de la basilique, car les Sarrasins prisent beaucoup ces carrés aux couleurs cendrée veinés de noir et de marron. Les chrétiens indigènes, dans le but de soulager leur misère par un gain facile, mettent parfois la main à cette spoliation sacrilège. Le dallage de la cripte est également entamé et le marbre de la Chrèche tente les chercheurs de trésors. Après l'établissement des Turcs à Jérusalem, le dépouillement des parois collaterales de la basilique se poursuit sur l'ordre des autorités locales en faveur des Mosquées du Haram-ech-Chérif. Au début du XVIIe s. il ne reste plus de ce revêtement que quelques carreaux fixés dans la partie haute des murailles " (Vincent et Abel, op. cit., c. V, p. 189).

The timber of Lebanon which supported the roof "was decayed to such a degree that it would have often fallen to ruin, if the friars had not continually braced it with beams, and had they not in the middle of the transept of the church built a sort of a large tree to support it: and according to those who saw it, it inspired pity in the beholder".[28]

For a long time the Minors took steps to save the basilica of the Nativity from complete ruin; and it was for this purpose that P. Gerardo Calveti, the Guardian of Mount Sion, at the close of the fourteenth century traversed Europe to induce the Christian princes of Italy, France, and England to provide for the restoration of the venerable sanctuary.[29]

Later on, in 1438, Pope Eugenius IV granted special indulgences to the pilgrims who extended a helping hand to the religious of St. Francis, to help them restore the church of St. Mary of Bethlehem,[30] and finally, in 1448, we see the Duke of Burgundy, Philip the Good, doubtless at the request of the Minors, asking Nicholas V for a faculty to restore the famous sanctuary.[31]

[28] Suriano, op. cit., c. 66, p. 122. Cfr. Louis de Rochechouart, op. cit., p. 92.

[29] In March, 1398, Fr. Gerardo Calveti, Guardian of Mount Sion, arrived in Venice in company with Henry, Duke of Lancaster (later on Henry IV of England, 1399-1413), who was returning from a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. Fr. Gerardo had come to Europe with the duke to induce the Christian princes of Italy, France and England to a restoration of the basilica of Behlehem, which threatened to collapse. The negotiations and the travels of Gerard were long; and we know, too, that in the period 1397-98 he repaired to the Sultan in Cairo with the same motive, and it seems that he returned from Egypt with the necessary permissions for the building. In fact, from a letter of March 5, 1399, which Ruggero Contarini (the Venetian commissary and procurator of Fr. Gerardo) addressed to his brother Giovanni Contarini, the future Patriarch of Constantinople, at that time residing in Engand, where he, too, negotiated with the king for the restoration of the basilica, we have the interesting notices, that in Venice had arrived the envoys of the Duke of Milan, the bearers of 1500 ducats, destined for the guardian of Mount Sion and "per impetrar lizenzia dal Soldan de chonzar quella benedetta gliexia de Betelem"; and Ruggero adds that the ducats were sent to Jerusalem, and that at the first notice he would at once ship the "wood and iron", which were ready in Venice and already paid for with the money of the Duke of Milan (Gian Galeazzo, Conte di Virtù, figlio di Galeazzo II) (Golubovich, *Biblioteca*, ecc., vol. IV, *Fonti Storiche*).

[30] . . . Cum itaque, sicut accepimus, Ecclesiae structurae et aedificia sacrorum locorum S. Sepulchri Dominici Hierosolym., B. Mariae in Betlehem et montis Sion per nonnullos Fratres Ordinis S. Francisci custodiri solitorum, miserabili ruinae subiaceant, Nos, etc. . . . " (Bull *Licetis* of March 2, 1438; *Diarium T. S.*, ann. III, n. III, p. 113).

[31] Bull of 27 July, 1448, *Sincerae devotionis affectus*, to Philip, Duke of Burgundy; *Diarium T. S.*, ann. IV, n. III, pp. 85, 86.

The fanaticism of the Turks always placed obstacles in the way of the execution of this great work. At last, however, all difficulties having been removed, the Custody of the Holy Land began the work of restoration, which was completed in 1479 by P. Giovanni Tomacelli da Napoli, the Guardian of Mount Sion.

The timber required for the restoration of the roof was finished in Venice and transported thence to Jaffa [32] in the galleys of the republic, and shipped from Jaffa to Bethlehem with the greatest difficulty: "It was a wonderful thing," narrates a contemporary, "how the poor friars could carry so much timber over the rough roads to Jerusalem, and especially since the Moors did not want to be bothered with the work, no matter what price was offered them; but the friars bought oxen, which were shod like ours, and camels, and they themselves carried the wood from the coast to Bethlehem. . . . Yet all this was as nothing when compared with the four very thick and long beams for the transept of the church; in order to carry them whole, the friars had to cut through fifteen miles of mountains; and with improvised wagons and other appliances which they had made to draw them and to goad on the oxen, they finally, after much expense and labor, transported them. According to what was told me, the shipment of these four beams cost two hundred ducats. And when they drew near Jerusalem, the entire city went out to see and admire the work which the friars had performed and for it God was praised, by the chants of the Christians as well as by those of the infidels".[33]

The immense expenses of this great restoration were covered by the alms destined for this purpose, as we have already stated, by the Duke of Burgundy; and the lead for covering the roof was given by Edward IV, King of England.[34]

Is it not a striking coincidence and a happy omen to see in the second half of the fifteenth century, Italy, France, and England allied together to save from inevitable and irreparable ruin the sanctuary of the Nativity in Bethlehem?

Unfortunately it was far more difficult to defend the sacred edifices of the Holy Land from the vandalism of men than

[32] Suriano, op. cit., c. LXVI, p. 122, n. 1.

[33] Ibid.

[34] Ibid.

from the injuries of time. The lead which covered the roof of the basilica was pillaged by the Turks, who used it to make bullets for their guns;[35] hence it is no wonder that in the beginning of the seventeenth century the ceiling of the Constantinian temple was seriously damaged. Later on, it seems that the Greeks themselves coöperated in the devastation, and took the lead from the roof of the church of the Nativity to sell it to the Turks, who used it against the Venetians in the war of Candia.[36]

The Minors did not fail to ask the Christian princes for the alms necessary to carry out the new extensive restoration required;[37] and they would as usual certainly have succeeded

[35] Nau, *Voyage nouveau de la Terre Sainte*, Paris, chez Pralard, MDCLXXIX, l. IV, c. X, p. 401. In vain the Minors often had recourse to the governing authorities to hinder the Turks from taking the marble and lead from the basilica of Bethlehem. In the archives of S. Salvatore in Jerusalem are preserved some of the documents in question, which render new testimony to the care with which the friars of the cord devoted themselves to the custody of the famous monument:

"anno 1525: Ordine del Bascià che non siano fastiditi li frati intorno alli marmi di Bettelemme.

"1529: Comm-to che niun Turco pigli marmi, o Piombi in Bettelemme.

"1535: Comm-to che il Bascià e Cadi non permettino, che li frati siano fastiditi, quando visitano li Santuarij, ne permettino siano tolti marmi.

"1547: Comm-to che niun Turco pigli piombi di Bettelemme.

"1591: Comm-to che il Cadi, e Bascià non permettano siano levati da Turchi li Piombi di Bettelemme" (*Diarium T. S.*, ann. IV, n. I-II, p. 32).

[36] Mislin, op. cit., vol. III, c. XXXII, p. 41 e, n. 1. "Gonzalès, qui était gardien de Bethléem pendant ce temps-là (1665), rapporte que "les Grecs faisaient des prières pour que Dieu accordât la victoire aux Turcs".

[37] In 1634 P. Paolo da Lodi, guardian of Mount Sion, wrote thus to the S. Congregation of the Propaganda: "L'anno passato spedii memoriali alla Santità di Nostro Signore alli regi di Franza e di Spagna, al duce Veneto, al gran Duca, e gran maestro, et al duca di Bavera descrivendole il gran pericolo della ruina della chiesa grande di Bethlemme, peggiorando di continuo; infracidandosi li travi per le pioggie; e dubito assai che un giorno non ruini qualche parte, a si perdi il tutto con infinita vergogna non de poveri frati scalzi, e rappezzati, ma de principi christiani che senza loro pregiuditio, essendo a tempo avisati, havrebbero potuto efficacemente soccorrere alla necessità, che hanno trascurata . . . ("Arch. della S. Congr. de P. F.", *Lettere di Spagna* . . . Gerusalemme, ecc., vol. 104, fol. 112).

To this end the Custody of the H. L. had recourse to the bailiff of Venice in Constantinople through the S. Congregation of the P. F., in order to obtain from the Ottoman government the necessary permission:

"Al Bailo Veneto in Costantinopoli.

"Havendo V. S. Ill.ma in tutti li bisogni de Santi Luoghi di Gerusalemme fatte le diligenze necessarie per ottenere da cotesta Porta buoni ordini in diffesa loro, questa S. C. de propaganda fide s'assicura di ricorrere, come fa, colla presente al suo parocinio per haver un commandamento turchesco o licenza per il Guardiano di Terra Santa di poterli far riparare, intendendosi che la Chiesa del SS.mo Sepolcro e quella di Bethlemme minacciano rovina in maniera che se presto non si provede o non si potranno redificare, conforme alle leggi de Turchi o vi vorrà per detta licenza, e per l'edificatione grossissima somma di

in their intent, if the usurpation of the schismatics, who held the temple of the Nativity under their rule for more than a half century, had not supervened. This time the roof of the basilica was repaired by the Greeks in 1671-1672, the patriarch Dositheus having obtained the permission from the Sublime Porte through the powerful support of the great interpreter Panaiotti.[38] The Minors had to be content with restoring and embellishing the church of St. Catherine, where they celebrated the services of the Catholic worship.[39]

We now enter on the sad period of the victorious usurpations of the dissenting sects against the Latins, the sole and legiti-

danari, come più pienamente intenderà dal P. Giovanni Fermo della Famiglia di Gierusalemme, al quale se V. S. Ill.ma si compiacerà di prestar gli aiuti e favori che potrà colla sua autorità in fargli conseguire detta licenza, oltre il merito che Ella acquisterà per così buona opera, presso Christo Nostro Signore, obbligherà grandemente questa Sacra Congregatione, in nome della quale etc. Roma, 19 Febraro 1633" ("Arch. della S. C. de P. F.", *Lett. della S. C.*, vol. 13, fol. 26°).

In 1669, albeit they were driven from the basilica of the Nativity, the Minors did not cease to exert themselves to render the restoration of the famous monument possible: "La Chiesa del S.mo Presepio in Betlemme, ch'è di cinque Navi di bellissime Colonne, come quella di S. Paolo di Roma, è tutta ruinata, e tutta scoverta, che quando piove si può andare colla barchetta per dentro; ed il luogo del S.mo Monte Calvario sta maltratato in tal maniera, ch'è vergogna a vederlo; ma tenendo li Greci questi due Luoghi, Noi non possiamo fare cosa alcuna. Il S.mo Sepolcro del nostro Redentore e l'altri luoghi delli misterii della Passione, che sono in nostro potere, per favore speciale di Dio, e di Principi nostri Cristiani, che ci mandano l'elemosine, stanno con grandissimo decoro, e veneratione in maniera, che li nostri Pellegrini ne restano molto ammirati. Se Iddio ci concedesse la recuperatione del S.mo Presepio, a del Monte Calvario conforme tenemo qualche spranza, nonostante, che non bastano trenta mila piastre per accommodare solo la Chiesa di Betlemme, subito li poneriamo nel duvoto decoro . . ." ("Arch. della S. C. de P. F.". T. S. e Cipro, Scritture riferite nei Congressi, vol. I, fol. 244).

[38] Palmieri, *Dositeo*, cap. II, parte III, pp. 14, 15.

[39] Nau, op. cit., l. IV, cap. XIII, p. 416. The Greeks did not fail to avail themselves of the permission granted to them to repair the basilica of Bethlehem, in order to extend their possessions more and more to the detriment of the Minors. This is told us by the contemporary P. Nau, who was in the Holy Land in 1674 in the suite of the French ambassador Mr. de Nointel: "Le Couvent des Grecs est pour la plus grande partie dans une grande tour carrée qui est au bout de la grande Eglise à son Midy. C'en estoit autrefois le clocher. Ils l'ont accommodés à leurs usages, et ils y ont menagé une jolie Eglise, qu'ils ont dediée à Saint Georges, où l'on entre pour aller de la grande, dans leur Monastère. Ils ont au bas un petit jardin qu'ils ont usurpé sur nos Religieux, et de l'autre costé ils ont une cour assez étendue. Ils étoient autrefois assez resserrez; mais le pouvoir qu'ils ont eu de reparer l'Eglise, leur a donné la commodité de s'étendre, et de pratiquer plusieurs accommodements. Ils tachent d'imiter les Peres de l'Observance dans l'instruction des enfans; mais la difference des disciples est presque aussi grande que celle des maistres" (op. cit., l. IV, cap. XIV, p. 424).

mate possessors of the sanctuary of the Nativity. The many firmans which we mentioned above help us to understand the fact that, even in the beginning of the second half of the sixteenth century, the intrigues of the Greeks and Armenians against the Catholics had begun;[40] but the disputes among the different communities carried before the courts of the Sublime Porte served only to bring out in full relief the rights of the Minors and to make clear the unjust claims of their adversaries.

Unfortunately the rôles were changed in 1633, when in Constantinople the question of the Holy Places was no longer discussed on the ground of the juridical and historical titles, but with the aid of money, secret influences and false documents.

We have already narrated[41] how in 1635 the firman, enacted in favor of the Greeks two years previously, was revoked. The Franciscans were in fact reinstated "in the possession and in the enjoyment of the grotto situated in Bethlehem, and known by the name of the Crib of Jesus Christ, of which the Greeks possessed themselves to the detriment of the Frankish

[40] The authors of the most recent work on Bethlehem, PP. Vincent and Abel, show us that the Greeks were exasperated at the pre-eminence which the Latins had in the sanctuary of the Nativity, which pre-eminence was recognized and accepted even by the native clergy. To these reasons of jealousy were added others: the popularity which the Minors enjoyed among the people of the village for having created in their midst, precisely in the second half of the XVI century, the very flourishing and remunerative industry of wooden articles of piety; and above all the fact that in Bethlehem, in 1550, the friars of the cord gained the first converts to Catholicism. "L'école latine fréquentée indistinctement par les enfants des divers rites devait contribuer à l'augmentation progressive de cet humble troupeau. La connaissance de l'italien qu'ils y acquiéraient leur permettait d'importuner ou de seconder le voyageur en s'offrant comme guides et truchements" (op. cit., p. 195).

Cfr. Nau, l. IV, cap. X, pp. 396, 397: "Les Chréstiens étoient presque tous Grecs autrefois. Mais la charité des Peres de la Terre Sainte, et leur vie plus exemplaire, que celles des autres Religieux des diverses Nations Chretiennes de cet Orient, en a converty un grand nombre. Et je croy qu'ils n'y a gueres moins de cinquante familles de bons Catholiques, qui suivent le Rite Romain. Les Schismatiques Grecs de Jerusalem en ont une mortification incroyable, et il n'y a rien qu'ils n'ayent tenté pour empescher le cours de ces conversions. Plusieurs d'entr'eux sont si emportez, qu'ils n'ont point de honte, à ce qu'on m'a dit, de temoigner, qu'ils aimeroient mieux voir leurs gents professer l'Alchoran, que la foy de l'Eglise Romaine. Il n'y a gueres d'hommes parmy ces Catholiques, qui ne sachent l'Italien, et qui ne servent de Truchemens. Leur metier et celuy des autres Chréstiens, et mesme des Mahometans, est de faire des Chappelets, qu'on benit sur les saints Lieux, qu'on envoye en Europe, et dont les Pelerins se chargent, pour les distribuer à leurs amis . . . l'on m'a dit qu'il n'y a point d'année qu'ils ne debitent pour plus de trois ou quatre mille écus de ces meubles de pieté, ce qui est difficile à croire."

[41] V. *La questione dei Luoghi Santi in generale*, pag. 32.

religious *by fraud and by producing false titles*".[42] Nevertheless the titles, recognized as false by the Sublime Porte in an authentic document, were sufficient two years later (in 1637) to secure the triumph of the unjust cause of the schismatics. The Latin religious were completely expelled from the basilica as well as from the crypt of the Crib beneath. The door which led from the Franciscan chapel of St. Catherine to the grotto of the Crib was closed with government seals, in order that every time the Catholics wanted to enter the sanctuary they would be obliged to pay a fee to the usurpers.[43] The friars and the faithful of the Latin rite were not even permitted to cross the grotto of the Nativity in procession. To satisfy the piety of the pilgrims the Minors had erected two altars in memory of the birth of Jesus and of the Crib in a basement adjoining the sanctuary. "There is nothing but the wall between the two places", sadly remarks Thévenot in 1658; but he consoles himself with the thought that "les Papes ont accordé pour ces deux Chapelles, mesmes Indulgences, que pour les véritables".[44]

The firman emanating from the Sublime Porte in 1690 acknowledged the right of the Latins, who reëntered into the possession of the grotto of the Nativity.[45] Thus they could reopen the door walled up by the Greeks at the end of the crypt, and in 1717 they placed a new silver star on the spot of the

[42] De Testa, vol. III, parte I, p. 318.

[43] Razzoli, op. cit., pp. 129, 130; Boré, op. cit., p. 55, ecc.

[44] Op. cit., cap. XLV, p. 400.—In 1652 Can. Doubdan describes the grotto of St. Joseph and then adds: "De celle-cy on entre en une petite allée fort estroite, qui va un peu de biais en tournant, par laquelle les Religieux entroient autrefois en la Chapelle de la Nativité, par une petite porte qui estoit au bout de cette allée, et que les Grecs, usurpateurs de ces saints lieux, ont *murée*. C'est pourquoy les dits Religieux de S. François n'ont plus q'un petit Autel qui n'a pas trois pieds et demy de longeur, au bout de cette petite allée, ou ils peuvent celebrer . . . , et non plus dans la saincte Caverne, au grand dommage et regret de tous les bons Catholiques. Religieux et autres qui n'ont plus la liberté, comme au temps passé, l'entrer dans ce tres-saint lieu, sans la permission de ces Schismatiques qui le possedent, et se font quelquefois bien prier pour l'ouvrir" (op. cit., cap. XVIII, p. 139).—Cfr. Nau, op. cit., l. IV, cap. XII, p. 414; Souvin de Rochefort, Tresorier de France, Le *Voyageur d'Europe où est le Voyage de Turquie, qui comprend la Terre Sainte et l'Égypte*, Paris, chez Pierre de Launay, 1684, p. 127.

[45] V. *La questione dei Luoghi Santi in generale*, pag. 48.

old one, which was perhaps damaged by time,[46] with the traditional inscription: *Hic de Virgine Maria Jesus Christus natus est.* The roof of the basilica was again somewhat repaired by the Minors.[47]

Things went on in this manner until 1757; but at this time, as we are already aware, the schismatics, supported at Constantinople by the favor of the grand vizier Raghiz Pasha, won a complete triumph over the Catholic religious, in Jerusalem as well as in Bethlehem, where they took entire possession of the Constantinian basilica and of the altar in the crypt, consecrated to the Nativity.[48] The Minors were no longer allowed to go down into the holy grotto save by the northern stairs, with the right to celebrate Holy Mass only on the altar of the Magi, on which was exposed a picture by the celebrated Italian painter Jacopo Palma Senior, representing the adoration of the three kings.[49]

Having thus become the masters of the sanctuary of Bethlehem, the Greeks in 1842 again obtained permission to renew its roof and floor,[50] but, alas, the walls too participated in this

[46] It does not seem that the Greeks removed the star during the period of the usurpation. V. Souvin, op. cit., p. 126.

[47] Mislin, op. cit., vol. III, cap. XXXII, p. 42; Vincent et Abel, *Bethléem*, cap. V, p. 201.

[48] We already know the particulars of this usurpation, and how on that occasion the Sublime Porte enacted, within a brief interval of time, two contradictory firmans, one in favor of the Latins, the other of the Greeks. "Lors de l'exécution des deux firmans contradictoires, les Grecs ayant mobilisé leurs ouailles des environs et une troupe de pélerins d'Anatolie, eurent facilement le dessus" (Vincent et Abel, op. cit., p. 202).—V. *La questione dei Luoghi Santi in generale*, pag. 57.

[49] Rocchetta Aquilante, *Peregrinatione in T. S.*, pag. 265.—To the usurpations of the Greeks were soon added those of the Armenians, who in 1814 appropriated to themselves the arm of the church on the gospel side, and pretended to contest with the Latins the passage leading down into the grotto of the Crib. The authority of the government had to interfere, which left the Franciscans but a narrow space, marked by nails, for the route of the procession (Razzoli, p. 148).

Finally in 1818 a firman of the Grand Lord authorized the Greeks to usurp from the Minors the grotto of the shepherds, to the east of Bethlehem, with the surrounding olive-grove (Cassini, op. cit., vol. II, Appendice, p. 416; Patrem, *La Custodie Franciscaine de Terre-Sainte*, Paris, 1879, Impr. de l'Œuvre de Saint Paul, p. 37).

[50] "Quand l'échec de la conquête égyptienne fut définitif, les Orthodoxes s'empressèrent de faire leur cour au sultan et de protester de leur loyalisme envers la Porte pour en obtenir la fermeture des écoles catholiques de Bethléem et de Beit-Diâlâ, et le droit pour eux seuls de restaurer les sanctuaires diversement éprouvés par le tremblement de terre de 1834" (Vincent et Abel, op. cit., p. 203).

restoration. "What was left of the ancient mosaics," says *De-Vogüé*, "was covered with a coat of whitewash, a large sheet which covers the entire interior of the edifice. . . . To hide the Latin inscriptions which render irrefutable testimony to the possession of the Franks, the sheet was stretched much further than was necessary".[51] "But," *De-Vogüé* says, "this is not the only reason of sadness for the Catholic traveler. If he weeps over the ruins of the monuments which bear witness to the glory and piety of his forefathers, there are yet spectacles which cut deeper into his heart. Not only is the worship which is dear to him proscribed from the sanctuaries as a result of flagrant spoliation and with contempt of their rights; but the sanctuaries themselves, which he would like to see surrounded with veneration and respect, he sees abandoned to profanation every day. The Greeks, after having made themselves the sole masters of the basilica, for reasons we cannot comprehend, erected a wall round the choir and there, in this inclosure, they celebrate their services; the remainder of the church is abandoned. Those venerable porches, erected by the first Christian emperor, venerated for fifteen centuries, serve as a public promenade to the inhabitants of Bethlehem. There the idle smoke and converse about their affairs, children play with one another, merchants put up their movable stalls, and, before the main door was walled up, the janissaries of the pasha and the beduins of the desert went there to tie their horses to the abandoned columns of the nave. In the holy place there is room for profaners of every age and every sort; but there is none for the Catholic priest who asks for an altar near the cradle of our God."[52]

There remained as the importunate, because true, witness to the right of the Minors to the sanctuary of the Nativity the marble on which was nailed the silver star with the well-known Latin inscription; which clearly enough told everyone who cared to know, Occidental as well as Oriental pilgrims, that the legitimate possessors of the grotto of the Crib from ancient times were the Catholics, and that the schismatics were but the

[51] Vincent et Abel, op. cit., p. 203.

[52] *Les Églises de la Terre Sainte*, cap. II, parte III, pp. 110, 111.

usurpers of it. In 1757 the Greeks wanted to suppress this, to them, intolerable document, but the Turks were opposed to the design.[53] Even iniquitous judges are at times unconsciously and fatally constrained, after having violated justice, to render testimony to the truth against their will. The "quod scripsi, scripsi!" of Pilate not seldom repeats itself in history. The silver star then remained above the altar of the Nativity until 12 October, 1847; but in that night the Greeks tore it away from the spot on which it had been for so many centuries,[54] and hid it in the convent of St. Saba.[55] What followed is well known. The rape of the star occupied European diplomacy for five years, and availed to reawaken among the Catholic nations the question of the Holy Places, for a long time forgotten and neglected.

In 1850 France, in the name of the entire Catholic world, presented a note to the Sublime Porte, demanding the restitution of the sanctuaries usurped from the Latin religious in Judea, in other words, the return to the *status quo* anterior to 1757. The note was accompanied by a document which explained the nature of the possessions and rights of the Minors in the Holy Places previously to that date. The document expresses itself with regard to the basilica of Bethlehem as follows: "La *grande église de Bethléem toute entière*, sauf le baptistère; la *grotte de la Crêche* et les deux escaliers qui y conduisent. Les religieux latins avaient seuls les trois clefs, une pour la porte de l'église, les deux autres pour chacune des portes latérales de la grotte. Maîtres de l'église, ils pouvaient y entrer librement et y faire toutes les cêrémonies de leur culte sur le maître-autel de l'église comme sur les deux autels situés dans la grotte, celui de la Nativité et celui de la Crêche. Une étoile d'argent portant une inscription latine était clouée sur le marbre à l'endroit où notre Sauveur est né. Une tapisserie

[53] Vincent et Abel, op. cit., p. 202.

[54] In the twelfth century the pilgrim Theodoric records an inscription, if not identical in form, certainly equal in concept, placed above the altar of the Nativity. The inscription was as follows:

"Angelicae lumen virtutis et ejus acumen,
hic natus vere Deus est de virgine matre."

(*Libellus de Locis Sanctis*, cap. XXXIII, p. 78).

[55] Mislin, op. cit., vol. III, cap. XXXII, pp. 15, 16; Vincent et Abel, op. cit., p. 204.

portant les armes de Terre-Sainte, et appartenant aux Latins, recouvrait les murs de la grotte. Les religieux latins possédaient, en outre, à Bethléem, la place devant l'église, tout le cimetière, et le magasin dit du Moulin-Vieux.

" Le couvent situé à côté de la grande église de Bethléem, avec la petite église de Sainte Catherine et tous les terrains qui se prolongent jusqu'à la grotte de la Nativité, et dans lesquels se trouvent les sanctuaires de Saint Joseph, des Saints Innocents, de Saint Eusèbe, des Saintes Paule et Eustasia (!), de Saint Jérôme; du jardin contigu, et d'un autre jardin situé près de la grotte appelée grotte du lait.

" La grotte des bergers. . . . " [56]

The success of the note presented in the name of France by General Aupick, with the support of Austria, Spain, Sardinia, Naples, and Belgium, we already know.[57]

As regards Bethlehem, the well-known Chatty-Shérif of February 1852, addressed by the Sultan to the Governor of Jerusalem, ordained that the Latins had to have the key for the main door of the basilica, just as the Greeks and Armenians had it.[58] But the subsequent firman of May 1853 more clearly determined the value of this concession, which amounted to a simple right of way: " . . . on ne leur a pas donné le droit d'y exercer leur culte, ou de posséder cette église en commun avec les Grecs; on n'a autorisé par là ni la subversion, par aucune des parties, du *statu quo* de l'église, ni l'exercice du système qui a toujours existé . . . " [59]

Nevertheless this very meagre concession granted to the Latins appeared excessive to the Russian government, which did all in its power to oppose its execution. The minister of the Czar in Constantinople succeeded in extorting a letter from the vizier which enjoined upon the Governor of Jerusalem to do all he could to refuse the consignment of the key to the Latins and, as the last resource, to refer the question to Constantinople.[60]

[56] Stato dei Santuari posseduti esclusivamente dai Latini nel 1840, rimesso dal ministro di Francia (Aupick) alla Sublime Porta nell'agosto 1850. De Testa, vol. III, p. 241.

[57] V. *La questione dei Luoghi Santi in generale*, pag. 65 ff.

[58] Samwer, op. cit., vol. II, pag. 495.

[59] Samwer, op. cit., p. 497.

[60] Dépêches du colonel Rose (ministre britannique à lord Malmesbury, en

If the Catholics really wanted to conquer the resistance of the representatives of Russia and the tergiversations of the functionaries of the Porte, they had to have recourse to facts, by fetching a carpenter who, in the presence of the French consul, opened the main door of the basilica of the Nativity by force.[61]

At the same time the Sultan had ordered that, in place of the star stolen by the Greeks in the grotto of the Nativity,

date du 20 novembre et 16 décembre 1852. De Testa, t. III, parte I, pp. 253, 256, 257.

"Quando si trattò di rimettere la chiave della Chiesa di Betlemme ai Latini, nuovo dibattito fra il Commissario (A' Alif-bey, che era stato inviato espressamente a Gerusalemme dal governo della Sublime Porta per assicurare l'esecuzione dei firmani sui Luoghi Santi) e il clero greco, il quale pretendeva che la chiave da consegnare ai Latini fosse quella di un'uscita laterale, chiave già da essi posseduta.

"Il Commissario, dopo avere messo in opera ogni mezzo possibile per persuadere i Greci, e vedendo che non era possibile far loro intendere ragione, si vide obbligato a ricorrere alla Porta.

"Fuad-effendi, allora ministro degli esteri, per rischiarare ancor più la sua coscienza, sottomise la questione al Consiglio dei ministri, facendo assistere alla seduta gli ulema della Commissione. Dopo nuovo e profondo esame dei documenti, e dopo aver sentito un'altra volta il parere della Commissione, il Consiglio dichiarò che non era il caso di ritornare sulla decisione presa e che in conseguenza una chiave della Chiesa dovesse esser consegnata ai Latini i quali tuttavia non potrebbero modificare in nulla lo *statu quo* della Chiesa medesima.

"La deliberazione fu sottomessa alla sanzione del Sultano e communicata ad A' Alif-bey . . ." (*La vérité sur la question des Lieux Saints . . .*, De Testa, op. cit., vol. III, pp. 307, 308).

[61] Dépêche du compte de Nesselrode à l'envoyé de Russie à Paris, en date du février 1853. De Testa, p. 269.

The question of the key for the main door of the basilica of the Nativity served as a pretext to Russia to advance at the Sublime Porte, by means of Prince Menshikoff, the exorbitant pretensions with which we are already acquainted, in consequence of which diplomatic relations with Turkey were severed and the Crimean war followed (V. *La questione dei Luoghi Santi in generale*, p. 70).

In a circular sent by the Count of Nesselrode to the Russian diplomatic agents, dated June 11, 1853, the minister of the Czar, to justify his policy of aggression against the Ottoman empire, insisted on the fact of the consignment of the key for the temple of Bethlehem to the Latin religious, which he said was contrary to the precise terms of the firman, and such as to offend the Greek clergy and people "parce que, suivant les idées accréditées en Palestine, la possession de la clef semble impliquer à elle seule celle du temple tout entier. Le gouvernement turc constatait ainsi aux yeux de tous, contre son propre intérêt même, la suprématie qu'il accorde à un autre rite que celui auquel est soumise la majorité de ses sujets . . ." (De Testa, op. cit., p. 276).

Thus the war against Turkey and its allies was presented to the Russian people as a holy war, which had for its aim the defense of the orthodox church in Palestine against the invasions of the Roman Church: "Voi andate a combattere contro gl'infedeli, diceva il metropolita di Mosca, contro gli oppressori dei nostri correligionari, contro i profanatori dei Luoghi Santi, dei Luoghi testimoni della Nascita e della Resurrezione del Salvatore" (Vincent et Abel, op. cit., p. 204).

a similar one be substituted at his expense. The commissary A' Alif-bey, purposely sent to Jerusalem to insure the execution of the decrees of the Porte, complied in fact with the wish of his sovereign on 5 May, 1853.

The firman published contemporaneously in Constantinople explains the meaning of this gift of the Grand Turk to the sanctuary of the Crib: " La nouvelle étoile que j'ai fait placer, pour mettre fin aux contestations qui se sont élevées à cet égard, dans la grotte qu'il y a dans l'enceinte de l'Église de Bethléem, étoile pareille à celle qui s'est perdue l'année 1847, et pour qu'elle serve de souvenir visible de ma part à la nation Chrétienne, ne confère à aucune nation en particulier un droit exclusif et nouveau, et, en aucun temps, il n'y aura le moindre changement à cet égard." [62]

This munificent act of the Sultan certainly could not merit the gratitude of Catholics! [63]

The famous firman of May 1853 had guaranteed, as we know, the conservation of the *status quo* in the Holy Places. How the *status quo* was maintained in the basilica of the Holy Sepuchre we have already seen; as regards the sanctuary of the Nativity, things certainly stood no better, and here, too, the Franciscans unfortunately had again and again to give their blood in defence of their last possessions and of their last rights.

History records the fire which the Greeks started in the holy grotto in the night of 7 May, 1869, in order to destroy the drapery, the emblems, and the Latin inscriptions which covered its walls.[64] But the most grievous episode of Greek

[62] Samwer, op. cit., p. 498; Noradounghian, op. cit., vol. II, n. 149, pp. 416-417.

[63] . . . je ne crois pas que, depuis le temps où l'on venait ici célébrer les mystères d'Adonis, il s'y soit jamais rien passé de plus humiliant pour le nom chrétien que le jour où le sultan Abdul Medjid y a fait replacer ce monument. . . .

" Ainsi le replacement de cet étoile n'est pas un acte de justice et de réparation, c'est un acte de humiliation pour les chrétiens; cette étoile placée par les catholiques, enlevée par les Grecs, et remise par le sultan, parce que les chrétiens sont incapables de le faire; c'est le successeur de Mahomet qui constate aujourd'hui que c'est né le Dieu des chrétiens!" (Mislin, op. cit., vol. III, cap. XXX, pp. 17, 18).

[64] Mislin, loc. cit. pp. 21, 22; Sodar de Vaulx, *Gli Splendori di T. S.*, cap. V, pp. 82, 83.

perfidy took place 25 April, 1873, when a mob of Greeks armed as brigands invaded the basilica of the Nativity, attacked the poor Franciscans who were alone and unarmed, and wounded eight of them; then they began to sack the Crib, tearing its pictures and tapestries to pieces, and taking away its other precious objects.[65]

From that time, by order of the Sublime Porte, a Turkish soldier continually stood guard near the altar of the Nativity to guarantee the last right remaining to the Catholics, the right to pray in the sanctuary where was born to mortal life the Redeemer of mankind, the good and meek Master who came down upon this earth to bring peace to men of good will.

Nevertheless the presence of the soldier of the Crescent did not always avail to hinder the Latin blood from bathing the stones of the Crib, as happened to the Brother Sacristan of the Minors who was killed with a revolver by a Russian, and to another Franciscan religious, eighty years old, who was seri-

[65] "On était au 25 avril, jour de Saint Marc; les Latins, selon l'usage, se rendaient en procession de l'église de Sainte Catherine à la grotto du Lait, et traversaient la grande basilique, ainsi qu'ils en ont le droit, mais l'évêque grec, Agapios, s'y opposa et frappa celui qui conduisait la procession; il s'ensuivit une rixe scandaleuse qui mit fin à la cérémonie.

"Ce n'était là que le prétexte et le début des horreurs qui allaient se commettre. L'évêque grec avait fait venir de Jérusalem des bandes de gens armés, dont le propos et la tenue annonçaient les sinistres projets. Les autorités turques ne pouvaient l'ignorer; au reste les PP. Franciscains firent avertir l'officier qui commandait les soldats restés à Bethléem: il dit qu'il répondait sur sa tête du maintien de l'ordre.

"A la tombée de la nuit, plus de cent individus, ivres et munis de toutes armes, envahissent tout à coup la grande basilique et se précipitent comme des sauvages dans la grotte de la Nativité, frappant, renversant; mutilant les pauvres Franciscains, qui étaient accourus pour défendre, au prix de leur vie, le plus vénérable des sanctuaires. En moins d'une heure tout est profané, lacéré, détruit; la nouvelle tenture est enlevée, l'autel des Mages dévasté, les célèbres tableaux volés, les lampes est les chandeliers brisés et emportés. Les soldats turcs, appelés pour rétablir l'ordre, font cause commune avec ces forcenés, frappent de leurs sabres les religieux et déchargent sur eux leurs armes à feu, lorsque, blessés pour la plupart, ils se retiraient dans leur convent; quarante balles trouvées dans la grotte ont été remises au consul de France.

"Il faut se rapporter au temps de l'invasion des féroces Pélagiens pour croire à la possibilité de pareils sacrilèges.

"A minuit, le factionnaire turc se promenait stoïquement au milieu du silence et des ruines.

"On peut s'étonner de ce que les Bethléémites, de beaucoup les plus nombreux, ne soient pas venus au secours des religieux pour défendre l'auguste sanctuaire. Au son de la cloche du couvent, ils y sont accourus en effet en grand nombre et armés; mais les PP. Franciscains se sont énergiquement opposés à ce qu'un lieu si saint devînt un champ de combat et de meurtre" (Mislin, op. cit., vol. III, cap. XXXII, pp. 23, 24). — Cfr. Sodar de Vaulx, op. cit., cap. V, pp. 83 ff.

ously wounded as he was walking in procession to venerate the Crib of the God of love.

Let us close this long and oppressive chronicle of frauds, tricks, violence, and crime, which we should gladly have passed over in silence, did we not feel that our mission was that of witnesses on whom devolves the sacred duty of giving testimony to the truth, the whole truth, on the vigil of the day on which the question of the Holy Places will doubtless be discussed before the supreme tribunal of the nations.

Anyone who has studied the annals of Palestine and has been able to set before the eye of his fancy the splendid vision of the Constantinian basilica, entirely covered with polished marble and mosaics set in gold: and has seen it to-day profaned, defiled and no longer entrusted to the custody of priests but of aliens, can not but feel shocked at such a great outrage inflicted upon religion, justice, art, and history; he can not but raise his voice to ask that the hour of reparation, so eagerly awaited, be finally hastened.[66]

It may well be affirmed that, among all the sanctuaries of the country of Jesus, the basilica of Bethlehem more than any other belongs to the Latin nations. In its main lines the edifice is still to-day as it was erected through the munificence of a Roman emperor, as it was when the colonies of the male and female religious of Italy, under the guidance of St. Jerome, St. Eusebius of Cremona, St. Paula and sweet Eustochium, took up their dwelling round about it, when the houses opened by them for the hospitality of pilgrims were peopled with refugees from Rome which was being profaned by barbaric hordes.

There, on the very basilica of Constantine, Tancredi, the leader of the Italian and Norman armies, on the morning of 7 June, 1099, hoisted his standard, midst the chants of the clergy—which was perhaps the Latin clergy[67]—and the acclamations of the people. There, on Christmas Day 1101, Baldwin I was crowned.

[66] The April Report of this year's *Palestine Exploration Fund* contains an account of the present state of the Basilica of the Nativity with references to its past history, by P. N. Wagget. (Ed.)

[67] Cfr. Riant, *Études sur l'histoire de l'Église de Bethléem*, cap. XI, pp. 92, 93 e n. 1.

Under the rule of the Crusaders the temple of the Nativity was embellished with new and splendid decorations in mosaic. The expenses of the grand restoration were borne partly by the king of Jerusalem and partly by the emperor of Constantinople, for the sanctuary of Bethlehem was to be as a monument of the unity of the churches. And in fact the very subjects of the paintings aim at recording, affirming and fostering this unity; so much so that even the stones of the basilica cried out against separation, against schism, and to-day they still cry out in the few faded fragments of mosaics which have escaped the indifference and the vandalism of the usurpers.

Finally, for almost six centuries the sons of the Saint of Assisi, "consecrating themselves to a perpetual martyrdom",[68] carefully guarded the famous sanctuary; and when their strength and means no longer sufficed to save the ancient monument from inevitable ruin, they asked and obtained the help of Venice, Burgundy, and England to preserve for posterity the large Constantinian basilica.

In the alliance of these nations, Italy, France, and England, the delivery of the Holy Places has now been accomplished. May they restore the sanctuary of the Nativity[69] to the Latin religious and may they join in aiding to repair the venerable basilica marking the spot where twenty centuries ago the angels sang: "Peace to men of good will."

[68] Chateaubriand, op. cit., vol. I, p. 336.

"Dans le courant du XIII^e^ siècle, les religieux franciscains s'y établirent. Depuis ce temps jusqu'à nos jours, malgré les guerres, malgré les invasions, les persécutions, les rivalités aggressives des différentes sectes, la place a toujours été occupée, ces saints offices toujours célébrés sur la crèche de Jésus-Christ, comme au temps de Baudouin et d'Amaury; c'est une des gloires de l'ordre de saint François" (De Vogüe, op. cit., cap. II, § 2, p. 106).

[69] The claims of the Franciscans in Bethlehem are the same to-day as they were presented to the Sublime Porte by the representatives of the Catholic powers in 1850.

THE CONDITION OF CATHOLIC COLORED MISSION WORK IN THE UNITED STATES.

A BULLETIN of the United States Bureau of Education, issued in 1916, on the subject of Negro Education, asserted that Negroes rival both immigrants and Indians in total numbers and "surpass them in the difficulty of the questions to be solved". This statement will not appear exaggerated if we recall that the whole gamut of Negro life demands elevation and adjustment. The earliest lesson to be learned regarding the Negro is that there is no single and simple solution to his problem. A study of the economic condition of the colored race, containing no reference to spiritual and moral elements, would be neither accurate nor enlightening. And on the other hand all attempts at religious betterment must keep in mind the Negro as he actually is, with all his social, educational, and economic needs. It is obvious that effective missionary methods will often be forced to work close to the common ground of this world. Reflecting minds throughout the South have long since recognized that if the Negro problem is to be solved in any particular field, it must first be understood as a totality. Speaking on Negro farm life before the Southern Education Association, Jackson Davis of Virginia remarked: "Training of the right kind that will replace obsolete methods with intelligent methods, that will replace insanitary cabins with respectable homes, neglected shacks with attractive schoolhouses, a superstitious religion with an intelligent work for the coming of the Kingdom of God on earth—this is the rural life which some think must be wrought as by a miracle, but which nevertheless seems to be slowly evolving as a result of the new type of education." The best thing that could at present happen to the Catholic missionary movement among the Negroes would be a liberal injection of the spirit that inspired the monks of the early Middle Ages to pray, preach, and drain swamp lands.

In the summary that immediately follows, some attempt is made to expose in an extremely brief way the relation of Catholic religious work among the Negroes to the whole situation of the colored race.

Relation of the Catholic Missionary Movement to the Distribution of Negro Population.

According to the last census (1910) there were 10,000,000 Negroes in the United States. For the fifty years preceding 1910 the colored race had increased at the rate of 120 per cent. Of the whole number of Negroes in the United States nearly 9,000,000 were in the South, where they formed almost a third of the population.

We are at once in presence of one of the radical difficulties hitherto blocking Negro evangelization. With the exception of Louisiana, Maryland, a small part of Florida, and the Gulf Section of Alabama and Mississippi, there were at the time of the census no permanent results of Catholic colonization in the South. What is more, Catholics have always been decidedly unwelcome in the Southern States. The consequence was that an overwhelming portion of the Negroes came in the first instance under Protestant influence of a militant kind. The condition which thus imposed a religion on the Negro continued to exist in an indirect way even after the Civil War. The economic and educational status of the colored race, as well as the difference in ethnic type, and the consciousness of kind have constantly operated to concentrate the Negroes in the so-called "black-belts". In ideas, traditions, and prejudices these colonies of Negroes are just what they were before the days of Emancipation. It is next to impossible to make new ideas circulate and to remove prejudices. Any one familiar with the Colored Missions knows how hard it is to convert an old Negro.

In view of what has just been said, it will be interesting to note the number of Catholic Negro parishes in the various parts of the South. This table is constructed with the help of the *Official Catholic Directory* for 1919 and of the Report of the Negro and Indian Commission, also for this year.

1. States with 50 per cent or over of their total population Negro:

Mississippi	8 parishes (6 missions)
South Carolina	1 parish

2. States with from 37 to 50 per cent of their population Negro:

Alabama	9 parishes (10 missions)
Florida	4 parishes
Georgia	5 parishes (1 mission)
Louisiana	12 parishes (7 missions)

3. States with from 25 to 37 per cent of their population Negro:

Arkansas	3 parishes (3 missions)
North Carolina	2 parishes
Virginia	3 parishes (5 missions)

4. States with but from 12 to 25 per cent of their population Negro:

Delaware	1 parish
District of Columbia	2 parishes
Maryland	5 parishes
Tennessee	3 parishes
Texas	8 parishes (3 missions)

It will be observed that in the rock-ribbed Protestant section, comprising Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Tennessee, Arkansas, and the northern parts of Alabama, and Mississippi, where Catholic influence in general is weak and where there is scarcely anything of Catholic achievement that commands and fixes attention, every foot of progress has to be strenuously contested.

Another feature connected with the distribution of population that bears on missionary endeavor is the familiar migratory character of the Negro race. This is particularly trying on priests who are struggling to build up stable parishes. One pastor of a colored Catholic church in Mississippi claims to have gathered together during his years of pastorate what would be the equivalent of five normal congregations. There have been periodic migrations of Negroes since 1815. Political influences, a widening of the mental horizon due to increasing educational advantages, economic conditions such as the destruction of crops by floods in the Mississippi Valley and the ravages of the boll-weevil, with consequent industrial depression so natural in a credit country like the South, have all served to drive Negroes to what they believed would be fairer lands and better opportunities. In 1910 the States bordering on the South, Kansas, Missouri, Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey, and even States farther away, like New York, Connecticut, Rhode Island, and Massachusetts, had from 1 to 5 per cent in their total population Negroes. The same year found in the North and West 440,534 Negroes born in the South. Negroes born in the North and West, but living in the South, numbered 41,489. The net loss of Negroes to the South was 399,045.

Fluctuations in Negro population are at the present time very noticeable. A report of St. Joseph's Society, just com-

pleted, shows that some parishes have lost as high as 100 members, and these usually the best. We are further assured by thinking Negroes that the exodus has only begun. The great war heightened in the mind of the Southern Negro the belief that the North offered the chance for economic improvement. The scarcity of labor due to the drafts and restricted immigration, the continued low wages of the South, and no apparent hope of correcting what the Negro believes to be evident abuses, have driven large numbers of the colored race to Northern cities. Reliable statistics are not at present available. While there has undoubtedly been a great deal of exaggeration, the fact is significant that Southerners have felt compelled to employ drastic measures to check the Negro migration.

One result of the new exodus, from a Catholic standpoint, will be the diffusion, to an extent never before equaled, of the Negro problem throughout the Church in the North and West. Catholics in these latter regions will be forced to assume new obligations that may serve to bring them into more sympathetic relations with the Southern Missions. It has up to the present been difficult to make the more prosperous sections of Catholic America, with all allowance for honorable exceptions, realize the needs of the Colored Missions. The latest turn in affairs may succeed where formerly appeal went in vain. The immediate necessity will be to provide for our Catholic Negroes who wander beyond the Mason and Dixon Line. Some positive effort will have to be made to reach these colored people. They will vary in type from the ordinary immigrant who feels at home in a Catholic church anywhere. The Negroes will come with inherited Southern traditions, and they are not likely to force themselves where they do not feel welcome. Many may drift to what they conceive to be the more congenial atmosphere in denominational churches of their own kind. One practical way is to establish churches for them whenever they gather in a locality in anything like sufficient numbers. Sooner or later it will come to this in any case, for it is not likely that the Negro will feel more at home with whites in the North than he does with their brothers of the South.

Relation of the Catholic Missionary Movement to the Social Condition of the Negro.

"Social condition" here has no direct reference to that perpetual struggle that has been going on in the South between whites and blacks since the Reconstruction period. No doubt the many injustices to which the Negro has been subject have deadened considerably his appreciation of Christianity. Of this the last census report that 6,000,000 Negroes profess no religious affiliations is eloquent testimony. But the priest is not asked to be an agitator. If he became such, his influence would wane with the better element of colored people and he himself would become personally obnoxious to the white members of the community. The way is always open for him, though, to ally himself with fair-minded Southerners and to support reputable Southern editors, all of whom are bent on securing better conditions for the Negro. Many priests have earned the lasting gratitude of their flocks because they prevented the ravages of an unscrupulous police court or blocked the greed of swindling employers who would exploit Negro ignorance and helplessness. On the whole, however, the sphere of racial clashes is a region of shoals through which a missioner will steer his way cautiously, and then only with the constant guidance of his bishop and those worthy Southern whites with whom he may share an honorable acquaintance. Besides, he can generally reach his ends through the latter, thus doing away with the necessity for any direct action by himself.

Social condition, as here understood, means something far more positive than perpetual racial conflict. It will be almost impossible to raise the Negro to a high spiritual and moral level, unless at the same time we try to develop the home and the school, to increase the colored man's industrial efficiency, and to assist his contributing to literature, science, art, and philosophy. This looks like an altogether too brave program. It all depends on the measure of evangelization with which we decide to be satisfied. If we simply desire to dot the countryside with little wooden churches, having a congregation of fifty, a hundred, or even a few hundred souls, then we can go on as we have been going. We can send a few priests here and there, throw them twenty-five or fifty dollars at irregular inter-

vals, and for the rest forget them. But if our conception of the Negro missionary movement is something larger, taking in for example the 6,000,000 non-church-going Negroes, then we must make our preaching and acting as broad as life itself. It is not a question of converting savages, but a people living in an advanced civilization, a people beginning to understand that civilization and to long for it most ardently.

A very few indications of what may be done in this direction may here be briefly outlined.

1. *Home Conditions.* Many Negro homes are not prepared for the reception of the high ideals which Christianity associates with the home. Some defects can be corrected by instruction. Cleanliness and thrift can be taught. The unfortunate view of marriage as a strictly "fifty-fifty" partnership may in time give way to the proper feelings of fidelity, affection, and mutual obligation that extend beyond a narrow measure. In other things the Negro will require help. A few years ago it was estimated that forty per cent of Negro families still lived in one-room cabins, which were either the "actual slave home or its lineal descendant". In cities the congested condition is, if possible, worse. How can the proper Christian home life thrive in such surroundings that give every opportunity for vice, crime, and disease to grow? Frankly, it would be difficult to advise Catholics just what they can do. But it should be said that Protestants are doing something. With the help of philanthropists it might be possible to start neighborhood associations, capable of giving small loans and of obtaining by organized effort from the State or municipality at least fundamental sanitation and sufficient lighting and heating facilities.

2. *Economic Independence.* Closely related to the question of home life is the assurance of a decent and steady livelihood. Colored newspapers for the past years have been drilling on this topic continually. Any organization that professes to work for the betterment of the Negro race must be willing to make concessions to the colored man's awakened appreciation of his economic possibilities.

So far, all attempts emanating from a Catholic source to help the Negro make a living have seemed, in comparison with the magnitude of the problem and the efforts put forth by others,

pitiably weak. We have a good industrial school for boys under the care of St. Joseph's Society at Clayton, Delaware. There is another well-equipped school for boys at Rock Castle, Virginia. There are, too, an excellent school for girls at Rock Castle, Virginia, and another at New Orleans. The two latter schools are due to Mother Katharine Drexel. Mrs. L. D. Morrell is responsible for the boys' school at Rock Castle. The Negro race has not found among Catholics any more practical and unselfish friendship than has been given by these generous women. These schools represent the only worth-while constructive effort put forth by Catholics to assist Negro economic opportunity. Individual priests have, of course, contributed their mite. One pastor of a colored parish in New Orleans has inspired the formation of a coöperative store. Other priests have undertaken to teach their people the rudiments of successful farming. And priests everywhere strive, through the instrumentality of the white people, to reduce unemployment in their parishes.

What can be done? The schools already in existence should be encouraged and supported so that they may increase their efficiency. In addition, a few other schools might be built that possess the advantages of central location, thoroughly modern equipment, and a proficient teaching staff. We could also urge upon the Catholic element of our population the utter injustice of taking advantage of the weakness of the colored race in order to secure the services of the Negro at what is generally an insufficient wage. An authoritative pronouncement on the rights of Negro labor, similar to the recent program of Social Reconstruction issued by the Committee on Special War Activities, would go far toward convincing the Negro of the Church's real interest. Such a document would, it is true, be behind the American Federation's action in granting at its convention in Atlantic City the full rights of organized labor to Negro workmen, but it would prove to the colored race that the professions of the Church's representatives are not mere perfunctory exclamations, but rather a real allegiance to what the Right Reverend Chairman of the Committee on Special War Activities in a subsequent letter called " the old, old principles of justice which the Church is bound to preserve and teach as best she may ".

There are other features, such as the necessity of watching over recreational environment and of providing for orphans, the sick, the old, the wayward; in a word, the weaker members of society. These features are not new to the Church's charitable work. Only, it should be remembered that whatever may be said in favor of them generally is true many times over when it is question of the Colored Missions in particular.

Relation of the Catholic Missionary Movement to the Religious Condition of the Negro.

The number of Negroes affiliated with the various churches amounts to 4,000,000, of whom the Baptists claim 2,000,000, and the Methodists, 1,500,000. Some years ago Negroes owned 35,000 churches, served by 15,000 clergymen. The Negro scarcely knows a theology. He has some notions of God's care for the needy, the atonement of Jesus Christ, and what we should term the verbal inspiration of the Bible—traditional relics of whatever religious instruction he received in slavery days. He joins the Methodist or Baptist church almost indiscriminately, as one or the other is nearer home, has a better building or preacher, or is made up of his associates. There is loyalty to one's denomination, but it is not theological. The form that the minister's discourses usually take is an attempt to offset the discouraging conditions under which the Negro labors during the week, the remembrance of his inferiority, and the shame of his racial history. The sermons are punctuated with frequent Bible stories in which the Negro delights. In the hands of their best men this preaching is valuable, for it brings to lives accustomed to harshness and injustice some few glimpses of tenderness and love. It has been suggested that not enough emphasis is placed on duty and the moral precepts. This charge, even if true, should not be levelled at the Negro. The Negro has a history. The quality of moral training furnished during slavery was of a very dubious character. Then, after the Civil War the Negro was asked to change from a position of irresponsibility to one of responsibility, to take his place in a society already well organized when he had no previous discipline. The consequence was logical. The Negro seized principally on the pleasures that his new surroundings afforded. There can be no doubt that as the neces-

sary training is given, the attacks on Negro morality made by superficial observers will lose much of their force.

The missioner approaching the work of Negro conversion must set aside one or two idealisms that formerly dominated Catholic thought. The Negro is not essentially religious, or at least he is not to any greater extent than is any other racial type. That there are six million Negroes under no apparent religious influence is a sufficient indication of the true situation. One priest conversant with conditions in Virginia said that there many of the younger Negroes are lapsing into unbelief because of the extortionate demands of ministers. Another fallen idol is the notion that the Negro must be won through his emotions, that he must have plenty of sound and color. True to a certain extent is this principle, but anything like its wide application would produce results no better than those of a camp-meeting, while in many cases it would not work at all. The Negro will have to be converted as all other peoples have been converted, by the slow process of convincing his intellect, forming his will, and guiding his emotions.

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STUDIES IN ST. JEROME AND ST. AUGUSTINE. III.

The Classics and Christian Classics.

DURING the last two years of his life, when St. Augustine was probably more than seventy-four years old, he made a survey of all his written works. The result is a guide-book to his literary life as a Christian, a priest, a bishop. It is a review, a study in retrospect of more than forty years of work, of intellectual and literary work, the expression of Christian thought as times and occasions called for it. This review covers ninety-three subjects as Augustine arranged them; and these are subdivided into two hundred and thirty-two minor heads, titles or books.[1] In this list Augustine has not included, and he counts out expressly as not yet reviewed, about three hundred and sixty sermons, two hundred and twelve instructions on the Psalms, one hundred and twenty-four ex-

[1] "Haec opera nonaginta tria in libris ducentis triginta duobus." (Retract., II, 67.)

planations of the text of the Gospel according to St. John. Of all these he says that some were dictated, others spoken to the assembled people—taken down probably by stenographers as they were delivered in the church. About three hundred letters of private and official correspondence are also referred to as being outside the range of this literary review.

This *review* of Augustine, a study in critique, passing judgment a second time on the thoughts and conclusions of former years, is, I believe, unique in the history of literature. In the pre-Christian schools or systems it would have been practically impossible. There was no criterion to fix the objective value of thought, to determine the worth of a theory or to prove a standard in ethics and practical life. In our post-Christian schools we may question whether such a review would be worth while.

As designed by Augustine this *review* was meant evidently to be a help to the Christian reader of the present and the future. It was meant to serve as an index to the synthesis of more than forty years of his lifework as a thinker, a writer, a teacher of Christian ideals, a witness of Apostolic faith and the morals of the Catholic Church. The whole plan, however, of this survey points not so much to the personal gifts of Augustine, to his power of thought and expression, as to the genius of Christianity, of the Catholic Church, which taught Augustine how to think,[2] and now treasures the expression of his thoughts as her own.

Thirty years earlier, about 392, St. Jerome had finished his list of ecclesiastical writers, a brief notice of one hundred and thirty-five Christian[3] authors and their written works, one

[2] "Quae vera esse perspexeris [in scriptis meis] tene et Ecclesiae Catholicae tribue; quae falsa, respue, et mihi qui homo sum ignosce; quae dubia, crede, donec aut respuenda esse aut vera esse, aut semper credenda esse vel ratio doceat, vel praecipiat auctoritas." *De Vera Religione,* X, n. 20.

[3] Philo the Jew, Seneca, and Josephus the historian are counted in Jerome's *List of Ecclesiastical Writers.* Of the first he says: "Idcirco a nobis inter Scriptores ecclesiasticos ponitur, quia librum de prima Marci Evangelistae apud Alexandriam scribens Ecclesia, in nostrum laude versatus est".—cap. xi. The reason for counting Seneca among Christian writers is found in the Apocryphal Letters—"Quem non ponerem in catologo sanctorum nisi me illae Epistolae provocarent quae leguntur a plurimis Pauli ad Senecam et Senecae ad Paulum".—cap. xii. Josephus is counted in on account of the material facts which tell the history and mission of our Lord and John the Baptist and the death of St. James at Jerusalem: "Christum a Pharisaeis interfectum, et Joannem Baptistam verum prophetam fuisse, et propter interfectionem Jacobi Apostoli".—cap. xiii.

of the first and most valued handbooks of Christian literature, an authors' list and subject index for the use and guidance of Christian readers of the last decade of the fourth century.

These two manuals of Christian literature, Augustine's *review* and Jerome's *book-list*, point to a wide range of Christian culture, and to a quality of thought and expression which ought to make us think before we accept a standard of taste which would limit the beauty of art to mere ornament, to the poetic fancy and rhetoric of heathen classics, to turns of language and phrase, which may take the breath of a high-school girl, but too often will steal away that look of innocence which we love in the face of a child. St. Jerome's list takes in the writers and the inspired literature of the New Testament, the applied philosophy of the Eternal Word made Man, the simple story of Bethlehem and Nazareth, the moral and spiritual beauty of the Sermon on the Mount, the poetic imagery of the Apocalypse. It lists the works of the early Apologists, Justin, Tertullian, Arnobius, Minutius Felix, men who taught the world of classical culture in earnest how to discern between history and myth, between the facts of life and the fancy of the poets, who dared to point out the moral and social wrong of a system of hero worship built out of the materials of popular superstition, a state religion whose whole aim was to make men subservient to the power and use of the machine of government. It is an index to four centuries of Christian literature, the written works of men who taught the world the philosophy and the poetry of faith in Christ, whose ideals are found, if not in the fascinating exploits of gods and heroes, then in the thought and fact of God made Man, and the communion of saints. The chief value of the non-Christian literature of this same period, the first four centuries of the Church's life, lies in its description of times and conditions. Suetonius, Tacitus, Seneca the Stoic, Juvenal, Ammianus and Apuleius of Madaura have painted a picture true to life. They show us the moral and social decay which ended in ruin.

Yet the old cant is familiar to us all, that the Church was unfriendly to the learning of pre-Christian philosophers and poets. We must be told in our modern manuals of pedagogy that "The Latin and Greek classics were ultimately denounced. As the offspring of the pagan world, if not indeed inspired by

demons, they were dangerous to the new faith. The apostacy of Julian must have convinced any doubting ecclesiastic of this danger." [4]

Controversy is distasteful. But we feel that there is a question of right here, of justice to the Fathers, that we ought to know in particular who these "doubting ecclesiastics" were, who wavered, yet were "convinced of danger to the new faith". If they can be found, they will be the individuals, we may suppose, who shaped the policy of the Catholic Church on education and the training of youth, the men who opened the door to the anomaly of unclassical or anti-classical schools, and introduced the neglect of learning, that shadowy, mysterious long night of the "dark ages". We may be a little surprised, perhaps, at the rhetoric of "doubting ecclesiastics" when we look over the list of names of *classical* Christian writers whose work falls within the first sixty years after the reign of Julian—November, 361 to June, 363. There are the Christian thinkers who made the literature of this "golden age" of thought and expression, Basil, Gregory, Chrysostom, Ambrose, Jerome, Augustine. These stand out quite as prominently, I believe, in the history of letters as the philosophers and poets of pre-Christian and post-Christian times. Their thoughts, on God, on man, on religion, the Creator revealed in His work, in Christ, in the Church, are the poetry of real life and human history. Their ideals find a response in the heart and thought of every child of man. If they have not the play of fancy of the heathen myths, neither have they their coarse immoralities, the exploits which disgrace the stories of the gods, and shock the soul of their readers.

As to opposition to the classics of heathen literature, no consistent student of the Fathers will ever find it. There are passages here and there directed against the impure and absurd descriptions of the poets, against the low type of theaters and plays of the time, against the superstition of the mythologies, and their effect, fatal to the morals, life, and intelligence of the masses of the people. But these points in problems of esthetic taste, ethics, and human decency are surely not a ban on the literature of the classics.

[4] *The Rise and Early Constitution of Universities*, by S. S. Laurie, in the International Educational Series. Appletons, New York, 1902, p. 26.

Whatever the influence was of Julian's apostacy and his legislation for the schools of the empire and the attempts to renew the life of heathenism, I doubt whether the literature of the time, the Fathers and the historians, Christian or heathen, will warrant us in believing that these were felt to be a really serious menace to Christianity.

The evidences of confidence in the cause of Christianity, and triumph in the power of Christian ideals are found chiefly in Gregory of Naziansus, his invectives against Julian; in Ambrose, his reply to the petition of Symmachus to have the altar and the rites of the god of victory restored in Rome; in Augustine's classical and critical work, the *City of God*. The facts are recorded by Sokrates, the Christian historian,[5] and Ammianus, the heathen biographer of the emperors and admirer of Julian. These are the chief sources of information on Julian, his apostacy and the influence, so far as it is traceable, of his reign, his religion, and his treacherous school legislation.

The letter of the law of the seventeenth of June, 362, seems at first sight to be quite harmless. It appears to provide only for state supervision over the moral uprightness, sincerity and honesty of teachers in the schools of the empire. Printed in the *Codex Juris Civilis*, as a norm and precedent of Roman Law, the text reads: "Magistros studiorum doctoresque excellere oportet moribus primum, deinde facundia. Sed quia singulis civitatibus adesse non possum, jubeo quisquis docere vult, non repente nec temere prosiliat ad hoc munus, sed judicio ordinis probatus decretum curialium mereatur, optimorum conspirante consensu."[6]

There is an interpretation of this law in a rescript of Julian's without date, printed among his letters, number forty-two.[7] It appears to be genuine, and explains the text of the law in the Codex. Both the Greek and the Latin texts present difficulties in the way of a literal translation, but the meaning is clear. I shall give the sense as closely as I can: "It seems unreason-

[5] Migne, *Pat. Grec.*, LXVII.

[6] *Corpus Juris Civilis—Codex*. Lib. X, tit. LII; edit. Godefrid, Antwerp, 1663, p. 327.

[7] Printed in the *Lux Evangelii* of J. A. Fabricius, Hamburg, 1725, pp. 302-303.

able that men should teach what they judge to be worthless. If, therefore, they (the Christian teachers) think that there is any wisdom in the authors whose works they explain, let them first of all follow these authors in their veneration for the gods. But, if they believe that these authors have done wrong in thus honoring the gods (in their compositions of poetic fancy), then let them go to the churches of the Galileans, and there have their own interpretations of Matthew and Luke."

Ammianus, the heathen historian, Sokrates, Gregory, and Augustine understood this legislation as a deliberate thrust in the dark, an act of cunning and treachery which was meant to lower the intellectual standard of Christianity, to force the Christian teacher out of the schools, and to keep him out on the strength of precedent in Roman jurisprudence. It was understood as opening the way to unlimited bureaucratic control. It would enable the meddling heathen official in any community to enter the school, backed by the law, to test the "honesty" and "sincerity" of a Christian teacher by an examination of his belief in the poetic myths of the classics, to disqualify any man for daring to teach one standard of culture and refinement in literature, while following another way of life and morals in religion.

The heathen Ammianus, who usually shows his admiration for Julian's statesmanship and the virtues of his morally clean life, blames and deplores this one-sided legislation, which would leave it in the power of court favorites, the parasites of Roman political life in the provinces, to proselytize the world to the religion, the superstitions of classical mythology. "Illud autem erat inclemens, obruendum perenni silentio, quod arcebat docere magistros rhetoricos et grammaticos ritus Christiani cultures." [8]

We can not say just how far the law was effective in excluding Christian teachers from the schools of the state. But there is evidence that the effect was felt, that Christian teachers, men of character and conscience, gave up their profession rather than submit to a system legalized by statute law, which would not only fix and determine the models of literary taste, but would further dictate the literal meaning of the gods and heroes

[8] *Rerum Gestarum*, Lib. xxii, cap. 10.

of poetic fancy, sacrificing truth and morality for the love of ideals and the sacred myths of patriotism, a patriotism which was actually dying in the decay and ruin of the empire.

The case of Victorinus, told by St. Augustine, shows us how the law was understood at Rome. Victorinus had been the teacher of many Romans of senatorial rank. He had the esteem of his pupils. The Senate had honored him with a monument in the forum of Trajan, the Roman "Hall of Fame." When advanced in years, he was a convert to Christianity, and his public profession of faith was regarded as a great triumph for the Church.[9] When Julian's decree became law, Victorinus chose rather to give up the profession of human eloquence than loyalty to the word of God; and Augustine says that when this was told him (this was before his own conversion), he admired more the noble freedom of choice in the veteran teacher than the strength of character which made the decision.[10]

From the East there is clear strong evidence that the stand against Julian was firm and effective. The positive action of the Christians, which met and solved the school problem practically, is described by Sokrates in the account which he gives of the two Apollinares or Apollinaros, father and son.[11]

The Bible was paraphrased for school use. The wonderful philosophy of Genesis, the Mosaic narrative of the real origin of things created, the nature, the order and arrangement, the laws which govern this visible world, the story of the heroes of the Old Testament, the life and teaching of Christ and the Apostles were adapted to Greek style and taste. Then there are the thirty thousand verses,[12] poems of Gregory Nazianzen, the most beautiful thoughts on life, its mysteries and its meaning, gems of meditation and poetic reveries, which show us the refined taste and genius of the classics, and have the merit

[9] Confess., Lib. viii, c. 2.

[10] L. C., cap. 5—In *De Civitate Dei* Augustine, referring to the same subject of Julian's school law, and an uncritical and arbitrary way of counting up *ten persecutions*, says: "Deinde quid respondent etiam de Juliano, quem non numerant in decem? An ipse non est Ecclesiam persecutus qui Christianos liberales litteras docere ac discere vetuit?" (Lib. xviii, cap. 52).

[11] *Hist. Eccl.*, lib. iii, cap. 16, *Pat. Grec.*, lxvii, col. 415-423.

[12] *De Viris Illustribus*, cap. cxvii—St. Jerome speaks of 30 000 verses written by Gregory. We have still over 10,000 extant.

of leaving out the coarse and obscene exploits of their gods, the impossible amours of their heroes.

The two invectives of Gregory against Julian, meant evidently for popular reading, are literally torrents of strong language, the unsparing censures of a man who glories in the use of words, οἱ λόγοι, rational language and its literature, as his best treasure on earth. Gregory has the power to express and convey his own feelings, his sense of the wrong, and his indignation at the thought of a law that would "steal words" from the Christians, that would close the schools of the empire to every self-respecting Christian teacher, and, by consequence (dependent upon actual methods of explaining the myths), to the children of loyal Christian citizens. There are frequent sallies of wit to ridicule the fancies of the poets running wild in mythology, and aground on the subject of sensual indulgence. There are points of keen observation and practical good sense as to the social peril in these popular myths, sources of superstition and low morals among the people. But, so far as I know, there is not one sentence directed against the classical literature of the poets and philosophers.

Gregory laughs at the majesty of the imperial "Bull-burner"—καυσιταυρον (Orat. iii -n. 76). He shows us the same spirit and temper which were manifest by the people at Antioch, and described by Ammianus, who tells how, during Julian's stay at Antioch, in his expedition against the Persians, the people of the city, incensed at the high cost of living, the result of transferring troops to the East, ridiculed the pretensions of the "conquering philosopher", whose aim was to control the world by accumulated knowledge, by honor to the gods and heroes of the past, the cult of what is highest in the art and refinement of man. They caricatured the philosopher's beard and cloak, much after the style of our modern political journals. He was represented—probably chalked up on the walls of the city—as wearing the whiskers of a goat ("barbam prae se ferens hircinam"). He was pictured as one of the Cercops, walking with giant strides, and extending his shoulders like a brother of Otus and Ephialtes. He was described as a butcher of the bulls which were offered in sacrifice to the gods. He was blamed for taking part in heathen rites and public processions, the imperial philosopher surrounded by crowds of

superstitious women—" culpabatur hinc opportune, cum ostentationis gratia vehens licenter pro sacerdotibus sacra, stipatusque mulierculis laetabatur." [13]

This description of Ammianus seems to refer indiscriminately to Christian and heathen inhabitants of Antioch. They all felt the burden of the philosopher's war schemes, and Julian was heartily and universally hated. Julian's retort also to these caricatures, in the *Misopogon* — the Beard-hating Antiochian, a spiteful satire, in which he paints his own virtues as vices, and the vices of the people as virtues, seems to be directed against the entire city, not the " Galileans " only, but the whole populace, the light-hearted and pleasure-loving people of luxurious Antioch.

Sokrates also describes this popular feeling against the apostate.[14] He adds a detail to the public taunt about the beard, which seems to point to appreciative humor in war times of commercial and industrial unrest. It was the popular jest, the historian says, that the superfluous, ornamental growth might be turned to some practical use, if it were made into ropes or cords—binding twine for the market (?).

The influence of Julian on the social life, the religion, the learning of the empire, so far as we can trace it in the literature of the time and a little later, seems to have been limited to the few court parasites of his own short reign, hardly more than eighteen months. Tracing tendencies is a dangerous recreation for a historian or a critic. Facts—that is, what the contemporaries of Julian did and said and recorded—are our only safe index to the success or the failures of Julian's reign, his influence on classical education, and the life of Christianity.

Whatever the subjective sincerity was of Julian's aim in his school legislation, it is evident, I think, that the law defeated itself. It aimed at too much, and secured nothing. It fixed the qualities of a teacher, sincerity and honesty built on faith in the fables of mythology. It closed the school to the really desirable man of character, the Christian who would spurn a system of heathen favoritism. It opened a way to the weak and the worthless, to the teacher, at any rate, who

[13] Ammianus, *Rerum Gestarum*, lib. xxii, cap. 14.
[14] *H. E.*, lib. iii, cap. 17.

would be ready to make a compromise, or look upon an ordinance of party privilege as not binding in conscience.

If there is any evidence of a continued and lasting influence resulting from Julian's shipwreck in the Faith, it will be found, I believe, to show not a wavering or hesitancy in "doubting ecclesiastics", who have neither a name nor a place in history; but in a strong, vigorous effort to form schools and education of a distinctly Christian character. It will be found in the determined stand of men whom we know by name and repute, who hold a place in the history of human thought, who are factors in the world's progress from the poetry of folklore and myth to the thought, faith, morals, life, art, literature of the Catholic Church, Christ's Witness, the Teacher of nations.

Another point of conflict between heathen and Christian culture which brought out a literature of vigorous protest, like the protest against Julian's school law in the East, is manifest about twenty years after Julian's death. It is seen in the petition of Symmachus to have the altar and the rites of the god of Victory restored in Rome, and to have a fund from the budget of the state for the support of the Vestal virgins. The reply of St. Ambrose to this petition shows us where Christians stood on the question of heathen superstition in its moral aspect, and how they met a movement which seems more like an ancient phase of modern humanism and ethical culture than a revival of religion of honor to the heroes and myths of the classics. There is evidence again of this same movement in Augustine's Introductory to the *City of God*, where he says that this work of thirteen years of study and labor was originally designed, begun and finished as an answer to the advocates of hero worship, who were charging the fall of Rome to the neglect of the old religion, and blaming Christianity for the ill repute and dishonor which had come upon the gods of the poets.

Symmachus, in his pleading for the honor of the gods, for a revival of popular and patriotic sentiment in their favor, seems to have been as much in real earnest as Julian was for the heroes and ideals of the old state religion, and just as superficial. The whole aim of popular religious revival for both seems to have been to renew a spirit of veneration for Rome, the *patria*, Rome sacred to the gods of the poets and the heroes

of her traditional founders. Their logic runs invariably to one conclusion, they see nothing beyond it—the old religion of the classics will secure the loyalty of animal man to the *patria*. It will raise him at once to a place of dignity in the political machine of the empire, and make him a dependable factor in the industrial, commercial, military power of the state. Therefore that religion must be maintained; it belongs to the state as a condition for its very organic life. A conflict, after such conclusions, was inevitable; but the conflict with the powers of the state was not about the classics, not even about their heroes, so long as these were left in their own proper place, the object of poetic fancy and imagination. The clash was on the question of man's essential spiritual freedom, on the personal right of man to be, under God, the master of his own mind and will, aside and distinct from the legitimate service which he gives to the state; the right to give a spiritual allegiance of conscience, faith and religion to Christ, as well as that of loyalty, of patriotism to the power and government of Rome.

The text of the plea of Symmachus, together with the reply and critique of Ambrose, is printed in the works of St. Ambrose.[15] It would be interesting to study the two texts side by side, to compare style, vigor of thought and language as indicating character and genius in the Christian bishop and the heathen patron of the gods. But we can note here only a few points of contrast, which mark the general character of each, the character, I believe, also of the writers, Christian and non-Christian, of the early centuries of the Church.

As a composition in rhetorical and literary form the plea of Symmachus is, I think, without fault. It is a splendid example of the polish and refinement of language and careful school training. He makes his words the plaint of mother Rome. "Evomuit diu pressum dolorem, atque iterum me querelarum suarum jussit esse legatum."

I shall try to turn a few selections into English: "Let us imagine now, that Rome stands here before you (in the Senate), that she addresses you in these words: 'You, leaders of the people, fathers of the Fatherland, have regard for my years, years to which venerable religion (pius ritus) has

[15] Migne, *P. L.*, xvi, col. 1001-1024.

brought me. Permit me to have the use of my ancient rites. I am not ashamed of them. Let me live after my own law of life, I am not a slave. This religion has brought the world under my rule. These sacred rites forced Hannibal from my defences; they drove the Gauls from the Capitol Hill. Am I saved for this, to be brought to dishonor in my old age?'" The plea for the Vestals is another example of the power of rhetoric and skill in Roman eloquence: "What gain is there," he asks, "to the public treasury in taking away the prerogative of the Vestal Virgins? Emperors abounding in wealth are refusing to-day what was a generous gift in times of extreme frugality. The only honor in this seems like honor at the cost of chastity."

Ambrose had been warned of this movement, and of an earlier agitation two years before. "Damasus", he says, in the letter addressed to the emperor Valentinian II, "the Bishop of Rome sent me the counter declaration of the Christian Senators fully two years ago. In this they state that these petitions are not of their making (nihil se tale mandasse), that they do not consent to them or agree with the plea of the heathen party; that they have made protests also in public and private, that if such a law were passed they would refuse to assemble in the Senate Chamber. (Questi etiam publice privatimque se non conventuros ad curiam si tale aliquid decerneretur)."

Like Gregory's invectives against Julian this letter of Ambrose to the emperor, and his criticism of the pleading of Symmachus exclude the very thought of wavering or weakness. A "doubting ecclesiastic" is incapable of such thoughts and such language. The letter with its appended critique is a document to be studied. It reveals in every line the man who dares to speak to the imperial master of the Roman world, the bishop who knows his responsibilities in conscience to be a teacher and guide in morals and religion, the statesman who recognizes the power of Roman law, but knows also a higher right, the right of God, of Christ, of Christianity. With a force of eloquence, strong in its unstudied simplicity, inspired solely by interest in his subject, a subject of vital importance to society, to the Christian world, Ambrose takes apart the appeal to sentiment, he lays aside gently the flowers of lan-

guage, and shows the framework of sophism which they hide. "Respondeo, hoc unum petens, ut non verborum elegantiam, sed vim rerum expectandam putes . . . volve, quaeso, atque excute sectam gentilium: pretiosa et grandia sonant, veri effeta defendunt: Deum loquuntur, simulacrum adorant." He shows the weak points in this building of words. He warns his reader not to be misled by mere sentiment and love for dear old mother Rome, there is something back of these flowers of rhetoric which proves the building unsafe. It can not shelter at once Christ and Venus, Apollo and the Virgin Mother.

There is one point in which this analysis of Ambrose shows a marked contrast to the invectives of Gregory against Julian. There is nowhere, so far as I recall, a reflection on the motives of Symmachus or his party, a total absence of the personalities which usually disfigure modern controversies. He simply holds up the arguments as a trained lawyer, piece by piece, and shows their strength and weakness verified in the facts of Roman history. He repeats the tearful plaint of Rome. "Flebili Roma questu sermonis illacrymat veteres, ut ait, cultus caeremoniarum requirens: 'Haec sacra, inquit, Annibalem a moenibus, a Capitolio Senonas repulerunt'." But where is the logic for the fact that Carthage fell trusting in the same gods by which Rome was victorious? And where would Capitol Hill be now, but for the awakening cry of the goose? was that the voice of Jupiter?—"ubi tunc erat Jupiter, an in ansere loquabatur?"

The appeal for the restoration of the Vestals in Rome is a tender point for Ambrose. His own sister, Marcellina, had been for many years a professed Christian virgin at Rome. She had received the veil, symbolic of a continent life, at the hands of Pope Liberius when Ambrose was only a boy.[16] Later as metropolitan of Milan, Ambrose had written for her the ascetic treatises on the virgin life; and some of his most valued letters on affairs of Church and State are addressed to this sister. She is interested in all that concerns the Church and the burden of her brother's cares. "Quoniam in omnibus fere epistolis sollicite quaeris de Ecclesia, accipe quid agatur"

[16] *Vita S. Ambrosii* a Paulino notario ejus conscripto, cap. 4; also *De Virginibus*, lib. iii, cap. 1.

(Epist. xx, n. 1). He describes in this letter to his sister his own personal experience, the conditions and circumstances which led up to his refusal to yield to the imperial order, to hand over the cathedral church or any other church in Milan for the use and service of the Arian party. I shall try to turn into English this vivid description to his sister in concise, clear-cut, classical Latin. "I was surrounded by officials of the court and tribunes. They tell me that this is the right of the emperor (imperatorem jure suo uti), that his authority extends over all. My answer was: If he were to ask for what belongs to me, that is, my estate, my money, or anthing of the kind, I would not oppose him (non refragaturum), though all I have belongs to those who need it. But what is devoted to divine religion is not subject to the power of the emperor. If you want my patrimony, take it; if you want this mortal frame I will meet you; if you want me a prisoner, if you want my life, I am willing. I am not walled in by these crowds of the people surrounding me. I will not hold on to the altar, begging for life. I am ready to give my life for the altar. . . . The order came at last: Trade Basilicam. Respondeo: Non mihi fas est tradere, nec tibi accipere, Imperator, expedit. Domum privati nullo potes jure temerare, domum Dei existimas auferendam?"

Ambrose won the day. The intriguers dared not take the risk. They feared the indignation of the people who had shut themselves up in the church to defend their beloved bishop.[17] It was a victory for freedom of conscience, freedom from the old heathen idea of state control of religion. And in the original of this letter to Marcellina we have what was probably the first manuscript account of the triumph of the Church over the tyranny of state interference and state control. It was sent to the gentle nun at Rome, to the sister whose heart was in her brother's work for the cause of Catholic Christianity—a point to be marked in history, a point of influence, of gentle refinement, of the love and confidence of a sister or a mother over the life of individual men and Christian society.[18]

[17] See this fact recorded by Augustine in Confess., lib. ix, c. 7.

[18] Instances of this influence are Monica, the mother of Augustine, Anthusa, the mother of Chrysostom, Nonna, the mother of Gregory of Naz., Macrina and Emmelia, the sister and mother of Basil and Gregory of Nys., and Marcellina.

And now these Christian virgins, among whom is Marcellina, women of refinement, who have given their lives to the work of education and charity, were to be replaced by the worn-out system of state-supported Vestals. We are not surprised at the indignation of Ambrose. There is something deeper than mere irony in his retort on this point. "Provocent lucris qui diffidunt virtutibus. Quantas tamen illis virgines praemia promissa fecerunt? . . . Non est virginitas quae pretio emitur, non virtutis studio possidetur."[19]

As to the literary form of this little critique of Ambrose, it is like an original essay in the thought, the Christian theme, the divine plan of history and human life, developed later by Augustine in the *City of God*. It has the merit surely of meaning something more than the flowers of rhetoric, the appeals to sentiment of Symmachus. It has the vigor of a living interest, characteristic always of the classics of the Christian Fathers. Without much show of art it enshrines gems of thought and facts of history which need no elaborate setting to put them in contrast with the poetic dreams and fancy of the heathen mythologies. Ambrose leaves impressions of a natural vigor of style, a symbol of the thought which he has to convey. He shows the use of language, which ought to mean something worth while. The older classics may train the mind of the school boy or the school girl or the college graduate to use lifeless forms of stilted words, figures of language and types of expressions; but what is a type that has lost its meaning? There is something wanting in a study of the structure of language, literary forms, symbols of thought apart from the living interest, which made the structure originally and gave it its meaning. Such a study descends usually to methods not uncommon in our modern universities, methods, which, it appears to me, lose themselves in problems like the recreation of tracing out the various uses, and shades of difference in the use of the subjunctive mood, or listing the forms and meanings of the genitive case in some given author. The result naturally is a caricature of language. It has not even the life of gibberish. It remains, in jest and in earnest, literally a *dead language*. A study of the living tongue of the Church,

[19] Epist. xviii, nn. 11-12.

the perennial symbol of the thought, faith, philosophy of Apostolic Catholic Tradition would, I believe, prevent this problem, correct the method. The pure, classical literary forms of writers and thinkers like Ambrose, Augustine, Jerome, and earlier, Cyprian and Lactantius, are standards, not of expression only, but of thought and meaning. They convey ideals and a spirit of religion and morals, to which no real student can be a total stranger. They realize their aim. They show the student that language is more than its material structure.

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WHO IS TO GUARD THE HOLY PLACES?

THE English General who took possession of the Holy Land at Jerusalem in the name of the Entente allied armies last year, saw the fitness of calling a Franciscan Friar to make the public proclamation of the conquest to the assembled representatives of England, France, Germany, and Turkey. That act of itself indicated the attitude of mind not only of the Powers in whose name the war had been waged, but of the people whose weal was being consulted by the transfer. Generals of the army, at least of the English army since the days of Richard the Lion-hearted, have not been in the habit of looking for a Roman Catholic priest to approve their deeds of valor and to interpret the spirit of domination to a humiliated people. Lord Allenby understood, and his military associates and the great diplomats of the world understood, that a Franciscan priest had the first right to announce the conquest of Palestine in the name of the Christian world.

Judaism, which under the aegis of the Zionist movement has issued a claim to the occupation of Palestine, as a national and inherited right, ignores the fact that the inheritance of the Promised Land was, by common consent of the nations that accepted the fulfilment of the Messianic prophecy made to Abraham, solemnly placed in the keeping of the children of the Cross. The sanctuaries of Jerusalem with its Cenacle, its Calvary and Holy Sepulchre, of Bethlehem with its Cave of the Nativity, of Nazareth with its Home of the Christ, witness

the solemn codicil affixed to the Old Testament. And the Arab and the Mussulman, despite a deep-seated fanatical and racial prejudice which kept up perpetual feuds between them and the Christians of Palestine, have explicitly recognized as legitimate the concessions made to Catholic devotion. True, the name and traditions of Jewish nationality still cling to the ancient sites, because these traditions were respected by the Western nations, which regarded the Synagogue of old as the vestibule of the Christian Church, much as they regard the Hebrew Bible as a religious document worthy of respect. Yet the Hebrew version of the Bible, despite its name and origin, is neither the most correct nor the complete expression of the Divine Revelation set forth in the Old Testament. We go to the Greek of the early ages for the interpretation of that divine message, both before and after the time of Christ, because it is a version made from a Hebrew text that antedates the amended script of the present Masoretic canon of the Jewish Church.

The title to the possession and administration of the Holy Places, where this transference of the Jewish promise took place two thousand years ago, was contested through the ages by those who desired the use of the territory, and by those who hated or envied the freedom of Christian worship. Voltaire's "Ecrasez l'infame" was anticipated by the hatred of Roman and Mahommedan paganism, and later by the fanatical schismatics who deemed it profitable to persecute the Latin Christians at Jerusalem, just as Cromwell presecuted the Catholics in Ireland.

Later, in the seventeenth century, agreements were signed between the Turks who were in actual possession of the land, and the Christian European Powers. Greeks and Mahommedans nevertheless took every opportunity which superior force suggested to deprive the Christians in Palestine, represented chiefly if not exclusively by the Franciscan Fathers, of the concessions made to them. The Crimean war brought about some revision of these rights, but the actual rule of the Moslem wrought frequent invasion of ancient privileges, such, to cite but one example, as the guardianship of the Cenacle, which had been in possession of the Franciscans since 1335.

The definition of these rights and privileges has become anew a subject of inquiry since the recent conquest. At the same time it has assumed some new phases which cause complications that must be disentangled by the diplomats of the Peace Conference. At the moment no positive statement can be made as to the outcome of the negotiations. Claims of possession are put forth on religious grounds not only by the Catholic orders with ancient titles, and by the Zionists, but by the various missionary societies representing the chief Protestant sects of England and America. From the political point of view France claims the exercise of its former Protectorate, while its government still maintains the anti-religious policy inaugurated before the war, though it is no doubt prepared to make concessions apart from territorial authority. The Arabs too lay claim to a traditional right of occupation modified by the military and commercial policy of England as the immediate conqueror.

To disentangle the complications arising from this combination of claims the directors of the Peace Conference at Paris decided in May last to send an interallied commission to Syria in order to investigate the situation on the spot. Eventually the task was assigned to an exclusively American commission consisting of four members—Messrs. King, Crane, Montgomery, and Yale. This commission, with a corps of secretaries and adjutants, left Paris in June last. It made a tour of Palestine and Syria and in August returned to Constantinople. Later, at Paris, in presenting their report they recommended that the mandate for the government of Palestine, Syria, Mesopotamia, Constantinople, and Armenia, be given to the United States. Evidently this recommendation did not meet with the approval of France and the associated European Powers. Nor did the proposal find a ready response in American diplomatic and political circles. The general impression at the present writing is that the Syrian country now under French rule will remain so; that the Arabs of Hedjaz will get a mandate for the eastern portion, and that England will take full charge of Mesopotamia. As to Armenia the control is still undecided, although President Wilson's expressed preference and the fact that most of the relief work is in charge of American commissioners point toward a mandate for the United States.

The fate of Palestine seems still to hang in the balance. The Jewish nationalists are extremely active, and they have a number of flourishing colonies in Palestine with unlimited capital to support the Zionist idea. Mr. Balfour, too, was said to be in favor of a Zionist state control, the program of which included the introduction of the Hebrew language as the official language of the government, schools, etc. Declaration has been made in favor of Hebrew holidays as of legal observance, and certain exclusive territorial rights to be guaranteed by international law and protection. For the rest, there was to be religious freedom for all. But Mr. Balfour has gone out of office; and the policy is not likely to continue under his successor. Our former ambassador to Turkey, Mr. Henry Morgenthau, although himself a Jew, does not appear to second the aspirations of the Zionists in the direction indicated above.

If the mandate for Palestine be committed to England or the United States, the line of action likely to be followed is indicated by a Memorandum presented to the members of the Peace Conference by another commission entrusted with the solution of war problems. It is more promising as a measure of justice to the Catholic religious. In the first place, the French Protectorate will be abrogated; secondly, the Sanctuaries which are in undisputed possession of any religious body would be confirmed to that body; thirdly, as regards the Sanctuaries of which the possession is disputed, the case would be referred to a commission charged to inquire into the relative claims of the contending parties, with the right to render a definitive decision one way or the other.

Italy, which formerly identified its interests in these parts of the East with those of England, seems at present inclined to make independent claims for itself of certain portions of the former Ottoman empire. The same may be said of Greece, though more favorably disposed to the idea of American control in Armenia and Palestine. Russia, while distracted with internal dismemberment, still looks upon the situation as of immediate interest to its future development; but for the moment its aspirations seem to be centered mainly upon the mandate for the Dardanelles. If the Allies should agree to strip the Sultan of Turkey of his former spiritual authority, one element of popular hostility to the claims of Christians

in Palestine would be eliminated among the native element. This, like the dethronement of the Czar as head of the "Orthodox" community in Russia, would be a gain for Catholics in the Holy Land. No doubt the Sovereign Pontiff at Rome has a voice in the proceedings, though we are thus far not in possession of any authoritative utterance.

While therefore the ultimate fate of Palestine, and with it of the care of the great Sanctuaries to which the Catholic heart everywhere clings, and which have been guarded for centuries chiefly by the sons of St. Francis, is still undecided, we look with confidence to the restoration of the ancient prerogatives so well established in the original titles. These would permit the Catholic pilgrim to the Holy Land in future days to feel at home and free in the exercise of the devotion which his religion inspires. There are other reasons why we should like to see the full rights of the Friars as guardians of the Holy Places recognized by the authority of the Allied governments. The excavations which have been going on under the auspices of various scientific societies for the study of Biblical archeology and which throw light upon much that is taught in the Sacred Revelation of the inspired volumes of the Bible, were largely in the control of secular non-Catholic bodies. With some favor to the Dominican college at Jerusalem, the right to make such excavations depended wholly on the good will of the Turkish government. It was difficult to obtain the privilege of making researches or excavations in the Holy Land without the intervention of governmental authorities and powerful financial backing. Thus many hindrances were placed in the way of the student which the auspices of religious guardianship are likely to remove. The Jesuits as well as the Dominicans have done much to further Oriental and Biblical studies in Palestine, but they were somewhat handicapped even where the right of research and participation in the results of the excavation were opened to them by the English and American, French and German Protestant or secular societies. It would be a comfort to know that the Catholic student no less than the Catholic pilgrim who goes there for devotion, has access to the treasures that speak of the past mercies of God on the soil made sacred by the footsteps of Jesus Christ, His Blessed Mother, the Apostles, and countless saints who shed their blood

upon the ground hallowed by the Precious Blood of the Incarnate Word. To priests of every rank and nation it will be a consoling thought that Jerusalem and Bethlehem and Nazareth are the homes of Christians, as they were once of the Saviour who is still with us—"Emmanuel"; that the Catholic pilgrims gather about the altar at Mass in the House of Bread, Bethlehem, where the Eucharist was born, and in the Cenacle where It was instituted as an everlasting source of sacramental life, and on Calvary where It was first offered in Bloody Sacrifice.

MEDITATIONS OF AN EX-PRELATE.

A Diplomatic Errand.

THE bishop has sent me on a diplomatic mission. I dislike diplomacy, and he knows I do. But he is my superior, and my anticipation of probable failure, of which I am convinced, must not interfere with the duty of obedience. Still it puzzles me to know why he should have asked me, when the result could bring only humiliation upon myself and annoyance to him. He is a good judge of human nature, and shrewd by instinct as well as by calculation. What has always impressed me in his administration is the way he gets to know what is going on without asking questions. He is a good talker, but also reticent about official affairs and matters that concern himself. He writes his own letters—and posts them, for the most part; so that his secretary is supposed to know little of the business that is not general. Somehow, however, the secretary finds out, for he is a clever man himself, though he humors his master by often seeming ignorant. The secretary would have been the man to do this business—but I don't know.

Possibly diplomacy is a different thing from what I have always imagined it. I remember an Italian ecclesiastic who had a great reputation for managing things. He seemed to know in advance what was doing or to be done by people of consequence. His admirers said it was native intuition. Others held that he knew nothing, but only guessed, and having several times in succession guessed right, he got the reputation of knowing pretty nearly everything that was going on.

Others, again, held that his antecamera man, a *minutante*, was the brains that supplied the knowledge required to anticipate or frustrate certain movements in the diplomatic world. But one day in Rome I met a woman, a lady of social distinction who had been correspondent for some of the leading journals, one in England, another in America. I asked her how she had managed to get information, in a certain much-talked-of affair, that indicated intimate advance knowledge, which was supposed to be the exclusive possession of a dignitary who had the name of being adamant to newspaper correspondents.

"On the grand stairway," she answered.

"What do you mean?" I asked.

"I knew the habits of His Eminenza, and when it was time for him to come down to his carriage for the afternoon drive, I would meet him going up the stairs, ostensibly preoccupied with important thoughts of my own. Of course I would greet him in the conventional fashion, ask after His Excellency's health, and tell him that I had an important item of news to take to his secretary. He would smile an invitation as to the nature of the information, whilst I pretended not to recognize. When he was in this questioning mood, I would promptly reverse the process and state as a matter of fact an assumption on which I wanted information for my paper. My query, such as it was, would call for a protest or an acquiescence, excluding as far as I could foresee the familiar "*Chi lo sa?*" Sometimes the ruse failed, and His Eminence would pass on, still smiling. But occasionally it was effective in producing a word or a gesture giving me the lead I needed. That happened in the case you mention. The rest I pieced out with the secretary, who was given to understand that I had just met His Grandezza and that he had vouchsafed certain information which I could not freely speak of. That would thaw out as a rule the self-important private chamberlain, especially when I brought simultaneously an overpaid request for some trifling privilege which secretaries are in the habit of dispensing to foreigners. Much to throw light upon shadowy things may be gained from occasional *chiacchiera* among the servants in the piazza or at the porter's lodge, for they love to talk about the consequence of their masters, and they know who comes and goes at the palazzo."

The lady's story taught me that much of the diplomatic success has its sources in a combination of persons, places, and circumstances, and that it is rarely one man's secret, though generally one man's triumph.

It is quite clear to me that the great people of this world who are supposed to make and guide public opinion are often only the creatures of those under them. The latter know how to humor their masters' weaknesses and learn from them what will serve their purposes. The apparent prime movers of events are frequently only led, and their name and position lend a glamor to what is the accident of mere commonplace, if not the contrivance of dependents. Nowhere does the contrast strike one more than in the City of Rome. To my observation no body of men constitutes a grander assemblage of really great characters than the College of Cardinals. One would expect it, of course, since they are selected for the most part for extraordinary gifts of mind and heart that have proved themselves by actual achievement. Their position as Cardinals is rarely if ever a sinecure or a mere place of honor. Most of them lead laborious lives, because their rank carries with it a personal responsibility which admits of no shirking. But there are those also whose appointment is the result not of extraordinary choice but of a traditional procedure. To me the idea of "reward" and "merit" in the priestly life of whatever degree, with its honor scale, has always seemed more or less out of harmony with the teaching and practice of the Gospel as exemplified by Christ our Lord and the Apostles. Nevertheless the curial style makes one doubtful. And I am afraid these notions of mine may not commend themselves to some. Yet I feel strongly on the point and often think that, if we made less of our dignity and more of the worth of service and God's dignity, it would strengthen the Church. Of course there must be hierarchical distinctions, and external modes of expressing their importance; but all that need not come in the form or nature of honors or rewards. To make one "sit at the right" of the Master is not the gift of anyone but the Father in Heaven.

But I have strayed away from my diplomatic errand. Well, as far as I understood, the chief object was to get a certain impression conveyed to one of the cardinals touching the merits of a close friend of the bishop. There was much talk about

an important promotion at the time, and gossip was rife in speculation as to the probable candidate.

My diplomatic mission brought me to the metropolis, where I had to interview a famous canonist. I found him a very simple-minded priest, without pretensions to learning or anything else. Withal he took in the purpose of my coming in a trice, and amazed me by telling me that my bishop need have no anxiety about the point at issue. This was before I had even intimated that it was the bishop who had sent me. So all my diplomacy came to naught before I had been able to try it. I came home saying to myself, "We ecclesiastics had better stick to straightforward exercise of the evangelical counsels. When politicians come to us, the proper thing is to bid them to give to Caesar what belongs to him and for the rest to leave us alone."

Incidentally I had also to present a difficulty which involved contention between two neighboring pastors, to my new friend the canonist. This also at the request of the bishop, who thought that the case might serve as a foil against suspicion of his having sent me to sound our canonical expert about "futures". The latter took up the case at once.

"I am glad you came about this in person."

The fact was, both the contending parties had already written to him to present their case, though each suppressed some important item that militated or might militate against a favorable decision. Accordingly a verdict could not have been given to either one of the parties without consulting the Ordinary, who was in possession of all the circumstances.

"It is not always possible to anticipate such omissions," said the jurisconsult, "unless one is thoroughly familiar with the details of person and locality. Hence the importance of making a careful examination on the part of a third party. It is really the bishop who can judge such matters impartially and without personal interest."

I saw the value of a bishop's power to look into and over the lives and activities of his charge. The terminology of the Church often seems inspired, like the sacred volumes themselves. It is a bishop's part *episcopein*. And if he fulfils that part he must have his hands full all the live-long day, without mentioning his confirmation tours and other appointments.

An Attack.

We had a dinner party last evening. Dr. Sontel, who lives on the Boulevard, but not far from us, had been called to minister to old Mrs. Claudier. She had been taken ill at our house with angina pectoris a few days before, but was on the mend. The physician would not, I knew, accept any fee. He regarded the patient as part of our household, as indeed she is, though she does not habitually live under our roof. She had been at one time nurse in my mother's house, and had assisted her at her deathbed. The Doctor knew her as a familiar figure in our menage, and the only way I could show my recognition of his services to her was to invite him occasionally to our table.

I asked Father Melody to join us this time. We had two other guests, Professor Antrim of the Clinic, an old friend, and his nephew, a medical student. These had met Dr. Sontel at our house on previous occasions, and their scientific interests lay in the same direction. We were just a group of bachelors —somewhat alike in tastes and mental habits, apart from professional practice and, I may add, from religious convictions.

Antrim is a sceptic, I am sorry to say; though a man of such correct and amiable manners that you cannot but like him. Our friendship dates back to college days, when he was rather an enthusiast in religion, having become a convert from Anglicanism. Later he went abroad to study biology. On his return he appeared to have lost the practical appreciation of his former faith; and occasionally showed an unmistakable aversion to it. I had secret hopes and anxiety to see him back in the Church, and was therefore bent on keeping up our old relations.

Dr. Sontel on the other hand is a man of deep religious convictions. He had been a pupil with the Jesuits at the Petit Seminaire of Montauban, and might, I fancy, have entered the order, if it had not been for an invalid brother who seemed to need his affectionate service at home. That, they say, made Sontel turn to medicine. All through his career he had also kept up the study of philology, being strangely fond of Hebrew and the allied tongues of Syriac and Arabic. Since his brother's death, many years ago, he had traveled extensively in the East, and now led a sort of retired practitioner's life. He

made occasional visits to privileged patients, and acted in consultation when there was some special call.

After the soup, I saw trouble brewing. Our good Irish maid, in passing the dishes from one guest to the other, showed a tendency to ignore Antrim, whom she disliked. The presumable reason was his being a "heathen." He had kept his hands in his coat pockets one day while grace was being said at the opening of dinner. The girl had resented the attitude and expressed her mind on the point to my sister. For the rest, she had received minute instructions about the etiquette of the table; and she was on the whole intelligent and docile. For some time after she had come to us—straight from Lisnacreen—she would insist on serving me first, no matter who was with us.

"Sure, isn't he the priest of God?" she would say, "And hasn't he the right to come first in his own blessed home?"

When I personally remonstrated she acquiesced, but always made a sort of bow to me first when serving anyone, as if to say: "By your leave, your reverence". It seems, however, that Dr. Antrim was too much for her faith and Irish blood. Moreover she diagnosed that he had an "Orange" name, which she was unable to separate from Ulster where the chief enemies of Ireland, she knew, had their stolen nests.

I feared that the girl's bias might be noticed, and am sure Antrim was vaguely conscious of the antipathy toward him, though he did not of course betray it by any mark of ill humor. I managed to address myself to him occasionally with an offer of some dish which had passed him. To reprove the girl before my guests was out of the question, but I resolved to give her a good scolding later. Antrim, who did not seem to have much appetite, made compensation by drinking—and here the situation favored him without the aid of the maid. His nephew next to him was a total abstainer, while Dr. Sontel barely touched his glass of Sauterne.

After the nuts we adjourned to the library where coffee and cigars were in readiness; and we settled down for a genial talk. Dr. Sontel was eloquent about the East. He was a great admirer of the native character of the bedouins of the East Jordan country. He used to hold them up as types of self-discipline and royal bearing. He thought that among them survived the

noblest traditions of the patriarchal days, and that they retained to a remarkable degree the native qualities of courage, honor, reticence. "Some of these Arab tribes" he went on to say, "are models of a theocracy. Their lives, solitary, under the open sky, communicating daily and hourly with nature, free from the embarrassments and tyrannous conventions of an artificial civilization, attain to the highest level of the ascetical and contemplative, without loss of the habit of social contact as shown in their rules of hospitality. Their devotion is genuine and absorbing; and their altruism is based upon respect for Allah who commands it."

"It seems to me," I commented, when the doctor had paused in his eulogy of the devotional earnestness of these Mussulmans, "that the religion of the Oriental is based mainly on emotion. It is wholly independent of dogma or of a disciplinary system like that of the Church. Perhaps one might call it a temperamental religion, the sense that readily flames into enthusiasm when it finds itself in contact with or is controlled by a leader who can urge it to action. Is not much of the faith of your Bedouin, as a son of Allah, what we should call fanaticism, or, in its passive condition, fatalism?"

"That" interrupted Antrim, "I hold to be its primary merit, or perhaps I should say the only merit of any cult that chooses to recognize the supernatural. It is the surest preservative against the selfishness of what men who are not in sympathy with the churches call ecclesiasticism, or if you will, clericalism."

There was a certain tone of irritability in the scientist's utterance, and, as I looked at his flushed face, I realized that it would be prudent to let the conversation drift away from the domain of religion. It was a delicate matter to discuss problems on the solution of which for the moment we cordially differed, with a man overheated with wine. But Antrim gave me no chance and went on:

"I can see no difference in what you call zeal for the faith in a Catholic or in a member of the Salvation Army, and the so-called fanaticism of your Moslem; between the absorption of the contemplative in La Trappe and the stoic concentration of the Dervish. I venture to think that your Irish or Breton Catholic is fully as superstitious as the Arab or the Hindu."

Father Melody here began to take part and, as was his nature, to wax warm. He admitted that the uneducated Catholic at times lets his faith take on what to an outsider may appear to be pure credulity or superstition. In reality the error that mistakes the natural for the miraculous is still genuine faith, so long as it traces the sources of its belief to the Deity as their direct cause. It merely exaggerates the particular expression of the Divine Providence in which it places its trust. It does not mistake good for evil or evil for good, as is the case with the fanatic. There is a radical difference between the two which becomes manifest in the case of the enlightened Catholic when contrasted with the Dervish or Brahmin. Mohammedanism and Hinduism turn to rationalism or occultism pure and simple as the forces of nature. The Catholic retains throughout the respect for a personal God, in whom he sees the cause of natural and supernatural phenomena. The same reasonable motive of credibility guides him in all his acceptance of dogma or pious belief, whereas the fanatic rejects reason and accepts either the doctrine of caste or none at all.

The distinction, though it could hardly have been argued out on Scholastic lines, led Antrim to shift his criticism to the Catholic clergy. He related some experiences he had had in the French hospitals, and maintained that a large portion of the French clergy had no faith at all in the things they professed and preached.

"They retain a glib phraseology about spiritual things, but in reality, and in their conduct, they discredit what they teach from the pulpit."

"Don't you think, Anthony," I replied, "that a man may be quite sincere in what he preaches, and yet fail to carry it out in practice? We have the word of the Apostle of the Gentiles for it, who surely had faith in what he preached. 'The will is present with me; but to accomplish that which is good I find not. For the good which I will I do not; but the evil which I will not that I do.' He plainly tells us that he is delighted with the law of God according to the inner man; but he sees another law in his members fighting against the law of his mind."

"That I don't deny," urged Antrim. "Ovid had said the same thing before Paul of Tarsus:

Video meliora proboque
Deteriora sequor.

"Which Tate prettily translated," interjected Father Melody goodnaturedly:

I see the right, and I approve it too;
Condemn the wrong, and yet the wrong pursue.

"By the way, Antrim," I said, hoping to divert his thoughts, what book of Ovid is the passage you have just quoted taken from?

"From the Metamorphosis. I think you will find it in the seventh book. But to return to the clergy, the case of Paul whom you quoted and that of the Augustan poet are quite different from the priests to whom I refer. A man might readily fall below the level of his sanest aspirations and yet be thoroughly sincere. What I refer to is a systematic ignoring of the ideals held up for admiration to others outside the professional circle. It goes without saying that I respect the sincerity of your religious convictions as a priest, as I do those of Father Melody and my friend Sontel here. Perhaps education and environment may be responsible for that sincerity. But the rank and file of your clergy demonstrate by their methods and manner of living that they don't believe what they preach. They proclaim the real presence of an Incarnate God in the host on the altar where they stand. They leave Him in dirt and neglect, treating that Presence in the most perfunctory manner, such as would insult an ordinary person. I have seen cases in the city hospitals of France of young abbés who were punctilious enough about their dress and comforts, treating what they called the sacramental Presence in the most casual way, bundling it up in repulsively soiled linen with unwashed hands; after having rattled off the prayers without any attention to their meaning. I used to think some of those prayers quite beautiful, and have at times noted their effect upon the sick, when said in a reverent manner. There is something in them to appeal to the heart of a dying or suffering person. But these young priests went about the wards as if they were more anxious to get through a job than to relieve misery and distress of soul. In the churches I saw the same thing. I used to serve at the altar; but seeing the hurried and perfunctory

way in which the services were performed, as though they were something to be gotten through with, in order to earn a stipend, I became disgusted. The altars were often dirty, and neglected. No landlord would dare to keep a tenant in the condition in which these well-fed shepherds pretended to keep Him whom they call their God."

Antrim went on like a torrent. There was no stopping him.

"If these priests had faith in the Master whom they preach, they would at least fear Him. An electric wire before me, if I thought it really charged with electricity, would keep me in a respectful attitude, and I should also guard others from treading upon it. That is the commonest sense of what I call belief or faith in a thing. But the clergy, with a few exceptions, show no such faith. To judge from their manner they hold their God in deliberate contempt, though they shout their cant from the pulpit at the people about the sin of sacrilege. No, gentlemen, to call that faith is to my mind a perversion of terms. Pardon me if I seem to disturb the hospitable atmosphere under the roof of our excellent host. But these things have profoundly influenced my convictions, though I often regret the lack of the faith I once had, when I see how it beautifies and comforts the lives of many whom I dearly love."

We all felt that the topic of conversation had been unfortunate at a convivial gathering such as ours. But it would not do to let Dr. Antrim have the last word on the subject. Dr. Sontel and the medical student had been silent. Perhaps they felt that, whilst they disagreed with their friend, his prejudices were not entirely without grounds, from his unfortunate associations and experience in a centre where religion was being misinterpreted by those who were largely, though ordained priests, in the service of the State. Most of the Catholic nations of Romance complexion suffer from extremes, and present in our day a singular paradox. The people as well as most of the parish clergy are thoroughly Catholic and devout. But they are dominated by men who lack faith and who use their power to discredit and eliminate a religion which by constant contrast charges them with betrayal of the highest interests of their people. They so manage the laws, since they know that the people respect and obey them, as to create

the impression that the state is an institution apart from the Church and superior to it for preserving the common interests of the nation. With this view they influence the selection of bishops by concordats, and the appointment of the superior clergy in the larger centres of education through endowments and emoluments under civil appointment. The taint affects a certain number of the parish clergy; but not the rank and file, especially in the country. It was not easy, however, to argue this out with Antrim. I offered him a fresh cigar, saying:

"Anthony, what you have seen in Paris hospitals is the seamy side of the Catholic Church; that which is nearest to the soil and to which the dust of earth adheres."

"Still it is the narrow strip of tapestry on which you think to walk to heaven."

"Yes, for the right side of it shows the pattern that leads to peace, the lines of the itinerary by which man reaches heaven, the true country of the soul."

I was waiting for Father Melody, who had left the room for a minute. On returning he said: "Who will go home with me? My carriage is at the door, or will be in a minute. What do you say, Dr. Antrim, if I drive you to your apartment?"

The genial priest had anticipated my wishes. He kept no carriage, but had quietly ordered one to get Dr. Antrim and us out of a possible predicament. I looked at him gratefully and said:

"The Doctor could not have a better Jehu than you, Father Melody. I want to take Dr. Sontel over to look at Mrs. Cloudier if he will come."

And so the dinner ended. We talked it over afterward. But I must end these notes. It is very late.

THE CATHOLIC PRESS

As I got on the train I met Mr. Worrily. He is one of our prominent editors, a good staunch Catholic, but I fancy a bit of a pessimist. He said he expected to find on the train Mr. Manly Tello, another member of the press fraternity. I should have been glad to meet the latter, who has a reputation for honest courage, with a well-balanced judgment and the power of literary expression. Personally I don't know anything

of him, not being in the habit of reading his paper, but this is what I have heard. As he failed to appear, Worrily and I were left together for a couple of hours.

Naturally the conversation turned to the topic of Catholic literature, especially our periodicals. Worrily thought that on the whole our press is in a poor way. It is without standing or support. Among the editors there were two or three that could write, but most of them were incompetent; that is, without literary and academic or even journalistic training. In the main, the priests who contributed to the papers were men of some parts who had a taste for controversy and forceful utterance. But not one of them had the intellectual and judicial temperament which calmly weighs things. Phelan is as dictatorial as he is egotistic. So is MacMaster. Their formula is "Ego locutus sum: causa finita est". The young priests lack experience and too often use their pastoral authority to silence opposition. Of the smaller fry—among the laymen—most of them can't keep away from politics. With them it is a question of making a living out of their slavery. The managers exercise no discrimination in accepting advertisements, some of them calculated to do moral harm and thus neutralize the good that the editor tries to do in the leaders. Then they think they must flatter the clergy, the bishop, and their friends, including councilmen and tradesmen, not to speak of the soloists in the church choirs. The bishops preach and write about the duty of supporting the diocesan papers, but they say or do little to make the papers wholesome reading by controlling their spirit and expression.

My friend said a good deal more by way of intimating that the ecclesiastical rulers are more or less responsible for a condition of which they themselves complain.

"But," I ventured to object, "the bishops cannot conjure up intellectual men; they have got to make use of the material at hand. Their position is really a difficult one; and unless they can take the matter in their own hands, as did Bishop England, or Bishop Spalding, they must find it hard to satisfy the demand for high-class Catholic papers, I mean high-class in the sense that they are free from the defects which you have suggested, though they may be less pretentious than well-established weeklies like the London *Tablet*.

"But how many of our bishops can find the time to give to such work. The more learned priests, like Dr. Corcoran, who might be able to do it, have so many demands made on them in other ways as to prevent their giving themselves to such work. No doubt as we grow we shall be able to accomplish more and our seminaries and colleges will in course produce the editors and writers we need.

"I fully agree with you that the abuse of indiscriminate advertising simply to support a paper financially is bad, and should be removed; for it is a disease that preys upon the Catholic body. The same is true of the spirit of adulation and the fostering of animosities and vanities, simply because it suits the humors of the editor or is calculated to gain subscribers.

"What is your ideal of a Catholic paper, apart from the one," I added mischievously, "for which you write?"

"The one for which I write is one of the worst offenders in the direction I have indicated," he replied. "But I am helpless, and our *clientèle* is hopeless. The well-to-do Catholics and those few who have education wont read anything Catholic. And the rest cannot. That's about the sum of it."

"There you are surely wrong. Generalizations about Catholics who wont read, or who wont patronize Catholic education or art, or anything that is supposed to be above the common, are based, it seems to me, on a wrong assumption. The true Catholic will always patronize sound Catholic literature, as he will be anxious about Catholic education for his children, and about Catholic art to fashion the popular taste. We owe all our good literature, music, art, and education in the past to Catholics. They were Catholics—that is to say, they did not bear the name only. The so-called Catholic to whom you look for the upkeep of the Catholic press is no more Catholic than is a baptized Presbyterian—often less so. We want his support, or rather his money, to bolster up a mediocre paper. I should say count him out, for his lack of appreciation of Catholic literature, education, and art, is due, not to his Catholicity, but to the absence of it.

"Nor is that surprising; and he is hardly to blame for it. The earlier immigrants from Ireland got their faith mostly without reading or schools. They had no opportunity for cultivating education and didn't know its value in relation to re-

ligion. Those who came from countries where schools had flourished found themselves deprived, in this new land, of educational opportunities for their children. Gradually they lost sight of both education and religion or faith in the struggle for existence. Where they prospered, they sometimes retained the Catholic name without the strength of conviction and the spirit of sacrifice which gives life to our faith. We are only awakening from these conditions. We cannot take for granted that this class should appreciate Catholic literature. We must teach them, draw them by offering them first-class publications.

"Moreover, the process of reconstruction must of necessity be gradual. The onus of that work lies indeed almost wholly upon the clergy who, if they would save the situation from becoming permanent, must quickly take the lead in order to repair the losses by constant instruction, by showing the power of faith over all other elements. The process implies, of course, losses; indeed the defections are probably much greater than we can estimate. People who have once had the faith will carry its name for a long time without the practice that vitalizes it. Witness the immigrants from the Southern countries. They will not be anything but Catholics, and still they wont practise the religion they claim. In short, the conditions are what we should naturally expect.

"To build up Catholic publications is a question of time and, in the first instance, of the education of the clergy. Our religious orders are doing wonderful work in this respect. Some object to the foreign element in them—saying that they are French and Italian and that with their rules, they bring a European spirit into our educational methods. Thank God for that, for if they did not bring it in this form, there would probably be nothing solid or positive in our methods. Public schools, universities, and military academies are importing German professors and text books of pedagogy. These are said to represent the best scientific methods, efficiency methods. In time we may drop them and substitute our own systems; but meanwhile we assimilate much that is good and wholesome in mental and moral discipline, though there are incidental peculiarities which do not appeal to our national sense of the practical.

"In like manner the French, Italian, and Spanish spirit of asceticism serves as a leaven that prevents our American religious

institutions from being saturated with the materialistic and utilitarian spirit which characterizes the civilization of the New World. There is a natural desire for religion in every man and woman. Among our nationals that desire has taken on an aspect of Puritanism in some ways; whilst in other ways it retains something of the ancestral faith of our forbears. On the whole it becomes a sort of philanthropic cult which nevertheless retains certain symbols of Christianity, and these liken it to a positive religion. Examples of it are seen in the Knights Templar, the Knights of St. John, and the like organizations which proudly display the cross in their regalia. But it is the cross as it is found on the Piedmontese flag, a token of things past and without any supernatural meaning."

Worrily saw the point; but he was a bit out of sorts, and so kept on grumbling about the lack of union, methods, rational censorship, and liberal support.

I thought it all over after we had separated. All in all, it seemed to me, we were doing as well as could be expected under the circumstances. Our bishops were for the most part men of more than ordinary intellectual gifts; most of them had that peculiar culture imparted by their education at European schools. Among the laymen we have Brownson, Hickey, MacMaster, and others who give evidence of uncommon ability and strength. They are all struggling; but the period in which we are living is one of transition. And, as the century is drawing toward its last quarter, new lights are looming in sight.

Studies and Conferences.

RECENT EPISCOPAL ARMS.

I. Arms of the Archbishop of Santa Fe.

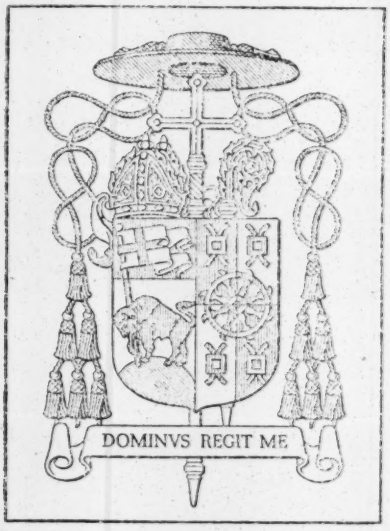
Two coats impaled. A: Gules, a cross debruised in base by two forearms issuing per saltire from the lower flanks, the one in bend naked, the other sleeved, both hands pierced, and in dexter canton a castle triple-towered, all or (See of Santa Fe). B: Argent, a sun gules; a chief of Saint Francis (Daeger). The old Spanish name for the See City was "The Royal City of the Holy Faith of Saint Francis of Assisi"; the cross of

the Faith is therefore shown with the "conformities" of St. Francis at its base, and to indicate the *Villa Real* is the castle from the royal Spanish coat, and the coloring throughout is the Castilian red and gold. The Archbishop's personal assumption is of the utmost simplicity—a mere allusion to his name: Daeger being from the stem Dag or Tag (*dies*, see Förstermann's *Namenbuch*). The sun is also the familiar attribute of St. Thomas Aquinas. Above this is the necessary Franciscan "chief": the forearms here are "proper", i. e.

in their natural colors, with St. Francis's sleeve of brown. One cannot well indicate these extra-heraldic tones in a line cut.

II. ARMS OF THE BISHOP OF BUFFALO.

Two coats impaled. A: Argent on a mound vert a buffalo statant gules holding a banner charged with a cross which displays itself on a chief of the last and counterchanges throughout (See of Buffalo). B: Quarterly gules and argent, between four mill-rinds 2 and 2 a Catherine wheel all counterchanged



(Turner). The arms of the Diocese readily explain themselves; the buffalo is red, that being the heraldic tincture equivalent to his own natural reddish brown. The field of the Bishop's coat is divided quarterly of red and silver, following the field of the arms of the Diocese of St. Augustine, Florida, for which he was ordained. The mill-rind or *fer-de-moline* is, according to Gibbon, "that piece of iron that beareth and upholdeth the moving millstone," and is thus borne as an allusive charge by many Turner families. The Catherine wheel is for a like reason borne on the arms of the Turner's Guild, Saint Catherine being the turners' Patron.

III. Arms of the Bishop of Baker City.

Two coats impaled. A: Azure, on a mountain of three coupeaux two lions respectant holding a cross botonny-fitchy all or (See of Baker City). B: Argent, on a cross azure two vested forearms issuing in fess holding in pale a staff flowering in a lily at the top and surmounted by a star all of the first (McGrath). The diocesan arms were suggested by the old O'Reilly arms where two gold lions on a green field hold up the familiar "hand of Ulster". The See was erected by

Leo XIII, and Monsignor O'Reilly was the first bishop: thus one lion may be held to symbolize the Pontiff, Leo, planting the cross in this region (represented by the "mountain of three coupeaux", for the diocesan Mt. Hood) and aided by the first devoted Ordinary, represented by an O'Reilly lion. The arms of many European sees celebrate their venerated first bishops, and I am glad of the opportunity to follow that procedure in this case. The Ordinary's personal impalement uses several charges from the McGrath coat, notably the cross and the forearms, but in a much simplified arrangement. The lily-staff is that of his Patron, St. Joseph, and the star indicates a devotion to Our Lady.

IV. ARMS OF THE BISHOP OF ALBANY.

Two coats impaled. A: Azure, a beaver holding a crozier erect and in sinister chief a crescent, all argent (See of Albany). B: Sable, on a fess between three leopards' heads argent an annulet gules (Gibbons). A beaver gnawing a tree appears on the arms of the City of Albany, the old Dutch name

of which was Beaverwyck: the crescent is the symbol of the Immaculate Conception, the dedication of the Cathedral church. The red annulet on the Bishop's family coat is used as a "difference", it being a charge on the arms of his Patron, St. Edward of Pontigny, Archbishop of Canterbury. The Bishop's kinsman, Cardinal Gibbons, uses in a corresponding position the escallop shell of St. James.

PIERRE DE CHAIGNON LA ROSE.

THE COUNTRY PASTOR'S WEEKDAY.

To the paper on this subject in the last issue I should like to add three important considerations. In a rural district no small amount of a pastor's time may be taken through accommodating the hour of daily Mass to the greater advantage of his parishioners, zealous attention to the aged and permanently

invalided, and affording the greatest possibilities for frequent confession.

A pastor's weekday Mass is primarily for his people, and not, as it would almost seem, a matter of private devotion. All should be encouraged to have part and take part in it, at least to some extent. In city churches its commencing punctually at the same hour daily may be the most effective means of promoting this devotion; in certain country congregations something almost the reverse of this may be necessary. To have made attendance possible for families in the adjoining village or for town people of leisure, in utter forgetfulness of all at some distance from the church, is accomplishing only the minimum. To say Mass every day in the parish church, and on Sunday only in a mission chapel which accommodates an outlying congregation, is to recognize but a very limited obligation toward that portion of the flock. To expect the children of the parish school or of the immediate neighborhood to assist at Mass daily, and to have this primarily in view in fixing the hour, is perhaps the greatest mistake of all. Few children will assist at Mass every morning with anything like becoming devotion. Of the adults whom we find frequently at weekday Mass, not one in a hundred, perhaps not one in a thousand, was brought to the practice by being obliged to appear there every morning during his school years.

The problem, then, of securing attendance at weekday Mass becomes largely one of distribution. Few will fail to respond, at least occasionally, when arrangements are made for their particular convenience and benefit; many will not make an effort once in the year on an indefinite appeal which to their hearing suggests little more than a sentiment of devotion and respect toward the Sacrifice of the Altar. It may be remarked in passing that, while we speak with enthusiastic admiration of the beautiful variety of the liturgical year, we proceed to present the weeks and days of that year in a wearisome and uninteresting monotony, concealing its teaching and attractiveness from the faithful, whose edification is the very purpose of its existence and preservation. It is well, therefore, to make something of the feasts that are not of obligation, announcing Mass at a later hour on those days. The Feasts of the Sacred Heart, Precious Blood, the Purification, Annunciation, Nativity,

and Presentation of the B. V. M., the Apparition at Lourdes, the Commemoration of the Scapular, the Feasts of St. Joseph, St. Ann, St. John Baptist, Sts. Peter and Paul, etc. have a real interest for all well instructed Catholics. Most people are willing to make efforts in this direction during Advent and Lent, while any attention given to Rogation Days, All Souls' Day, the Feast of St. Blase, and other occasions of special devotion is sure to assemble large numbers.

Convenience in assisting at Mass depends also upon the occupation, circumstances, and respective distances from the church. This should be kept in mind even to the extent of announcing Mass at different hours on different days of the week, with the view of making provision for each class. In the case of school children within easy distance, some pastors have found that to require their attendance just one morning weekly gives the best results.

Most Catholic people, especially in country places, soon evince a willingness to be present at Requiem High Mass announced as month's mind or anniversary of a deceased friend or acquaintance. An occasional exhortation from the pulpit will be sufficient to promote this.

The above suggestions contemplate a pastor with only one church to attend. Where his care extends to two or more distinct congregations, there seems to be no reason why all should not receive equal consideration, as far as health and leisure permit. If thirty or forty or fifty families find themselves located at some distance from the parish rectory, that is not ample justification for cutting them off forever from the benefit of a weekday Mass. Being with them frequently under such conditions may entail considerable difficulty, but, on the other hand, their appreciation of any effort we make in this direction more than repays the time and trouble we give to it. In general it may be said that a prevailing indifference to opportunities of assisting at Holy Mass argues some radical defect in either people or pastor, if not in both.

Somehow or other, we get the impression that sick calls—administering the Sacraments in danger of death—represent a very considerable proportion of a priest's labors. How is it we hear so little of the time regularly required to attend the

aged and invalid who are unable to receive the Sacraments in the church? Here is a duty much more extensive and burdensome than the other. Ordinarily more than one in every hundred of a parish population will belong to this class. To enable ten or twelve to receive the Sacraments monthly—as would be required in the congregation of a thousand souls—becomes an undertaking of some magnitude, especially in a country parish where the majority may live several miles away. I recall one zealous pastor whose congregation of over three thousand was made up of town residents and farmers from one to seven miles distant. Communion weekly for invalids within the town, and monthly for all outside, was the fixed rule, regular provision for which, his assistants understood, was no less essential than their presence in the confessional on Saturday afternoon and evening.

If we are really in earnest in the desire to promote frequent Communion, here is a portion of our people who cannot consistently be overlooked. Their condition craves our consideration; our visits will be among the few cheerful events in their sad, quiet lives; it will be our consolation to have done this great work of charity. Meanwhile their dispositions are assured. They are living lives of seclusion; they are no longer engrossed in worldly interests; their contemplations readily turn to God and eternity; their privations and sufferings lead them along the way which their Redeemer chose for Himself; where else outside the cloister shall we expect grace to fructify in greater abundance? As ministers of grace how can we refuse them generous attention?

It can be safely urged that multiplying opportunities for confessions, facilitating approach to this Sacrament, will necessarily contribute to its frequent reception. Let us not be afraid of "spoiling" our people in this way. Going to confession at all is a very decided effort, even for the fervent; why hesitate to relieve the burden? In the administration of city churches we commend the multiplication of confessors, promptness and patience in the discharge of their duty, and every other regulation calculated to remove the penitent's difficulties and inconveniences; why so great timidity in removing the obstacle of distance for the country resident, with whom going to con-

fession means the expenditure of hours, providing a conveyance and frequently contending with unfavorable roads and weather? If circumstances do not permit multiplying churches for his convenience, what objection can there be to multiplying our visits in his neighborhood? Perhaps a careful scrutiny of conscience might reveal that the dread of trouble to ourselves much more than of injury to his spiritual interests controls our decision. It is sometimes said, "Give people the habit of going to confession near home and they will decline to go a distance." I wish to state emphatically that all my experience is in flat contradiction of this. Make a more frequent confession possible for people and they will thereafter make greater sacrifices to maintain this frequency. Surely, the grace of this Sacrament attracts; surely their appreciation of that grace will become greater.

No matter what the conditions, every country pastor will wisely reserve all the hours after midday on Saturday for service in the confessional. His resourcefulness in adapting plans to particular exigencies and his generosity in carrying them out, will have practically all to do in securing frequent confession, and therefore frequent Communion, among his people. If his parish be compact, the process is simple, though he may find it advantageous at times to reserve certain hours for the convenience of those penitents whose circumstance of distance or occupation render attendance more difficult. If, on the contrary, a considerable number are remote, he should arrange to hear confessions during the afternoon in some house in that locality, leaving the evening hours for the accommodation of those who can easily get to the church. These remote groups of families may be settled in several localities in opposite directions from the rectory. This condition the pastor can meet by distributing the Saturday afternoons of the month among the different groups. A similar distribution of his time will ordinarily solve the problem of providing for the greatest number when he has two different churches to attend on Sunday. Outlying small missions are usually more or less scattered, and may necessitate his arranging an hour of confession in some private house, to provide better opportunities for one or other given sections. The young priest may think that he usually finds ample time on Sunday morning in small missions

to hear the confessions of all who present themselves. Precisely; and the number of confessions will continue limited so long as he limits his people to this one opportunity. Multiplication of opportunities invariably leads to multiplication of confessions. In this great work of zeal it is for us to set the pace, not the people. The more a pastor contrives to have it generally understood that Saturday afternoon, and not Sunday morning, is the proper time for confessions, and the more he endeavors to realize this idea in practice, the better the results from every point of view.

A certain portion of the pastor's weekday leisure will be claimed by the delinquent. Every parish has its quota of these. In country districts where temptations against the Faith acquire little momentum, where the exemplary conduct of one's neighbor is a constant, living inspiration, where neglect of religious duties is rare, where negligence in their fulfilment brings disrepute and disgrace, such cases should be rare. Much of this may prevail in cities, despite the most energetic pastor's zeal; it will not assume grave dimensions in a country parish where the pastor does his part. Among the people we are accustomed to deal with on this side of the Atlantic, delinquencies are rarely accompanied with complete loss of faith. For this reason especially the hope of reform is much greater than is generally supposed. A young pastor will err in underestimating the power he possesses over those unfortunate fellows. The remedy is much less in tact than in a frequent visit, every care being taken to preserve Christian patience and a gentlemanly consideration. Ninety-five per cent, at the very least, will yield sooner or later. Even the most stubborn cannot fail to appreciate the effort a priest is unselfishly making for their greater good, nor will God, on His part, fail to bless an effort inspired by the desire to gain Him another soul. But, on the other hand, no pastor with time at his disposal can justify neglecting to go again and again after those lost sheep of his fold. In studying the case of delinquents in country parishes, the question of marriage or no marriage becomes a live issue. It would seem that few men will continue faithful in the discharge of their religious duties without a mother, a sister, or a wife to lead them on.

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THE EUCHARISTIC BANQUET AND BROTHERHOOD.

To the Editor, THE ECCLESIASTICAL REVIEW.

These comments have reference to articles in the October number, and not in criticism. In these times when constructive suggestions are so much more needed, criticism seems out of place. The Rev. Dr. McMahon's paper on Eucharistic preaching is a beautifully worded summary of his thoughts on a vital subject. He says very truly that one of the faults of our Eucharistic preaching is the restrained view we take of it. The view is in fact much more restrained than he suggests. We fail not to preach Holy Communion as the food of souls, but do we not fail utterly to preach it as a banquet of brotherhood? Both aspects are equally Scriptural and traditional. St. Paul insists on the unifying effect. In his commentary on St. John, St. Augustine calls the Blessed Eucharist the sacrament of unity and the bond of charity. Our liturgical prayers and hymns express the same teaching. In his Encyclical on this Sacrament Pope Leo XIII says:

> Very beautiful, and joyful too, is the spectacle of Christian brotherhood and social equality which is afforded when men of all conditions, gentle and simple, rich and poor, learned and unlearned, gather round the holy altar, all sharing alike in this heavenly banquet. And if in the records of the Church it is deservedly reckoned to the special credit of its first ages that the multitude of believers had but one heart and one soul (Acts 4:32), there can be no shadow of doubt that this immense blessing was due to their frequent meetings at the Divine Table; for we find it recorded of them: "They were persevering in the doctrine of the Apostles and in the communion of the breaking of bread" (Acts 2:42).

The omission of this side of Eucharistic teaching in the pulpit would not be so serious if it stood alone. It is not merely in regard to Holy Communion that the social content of Catholicism is almost ignored in the pulpit. The whole sacramental system is treated in the same way. When a doctrine has both an individual and a social implication, and most Catholic doctrines are of this kind, the preacher takes the former aspect of it to the exclusion of the latter. We have even succeeded in placing the stamp of individualism upon the communion of saints! It is no longer a communion of all those in

a state of grace on earth. This goes on for generations until there come to us prophetical outcries like that of "An Observer" in the October REVIEW. His message goes unheeded, because the action he recommends requires a social sense which we lack. This sense has not been formed in us by the pulpit. The preaching of individualistic religion has been so common that the social side of Catholicism seems strange to us, and the word "charity" is being restricted to mean nothing more than the giving of alms. If Catholicism as applicable to all the relations of life had been upheld among us during the nineteenth century, the world would now be turning to Catholics as experts in brotherhood, in the reaction against industrial individualism and in the sore need of voluntary coöperation for the well-being of society.

In France the same tendency is in evidence but not so pronounced. Père Monsabré did devote at least one conference in Notre Dame to the relation of Holy Communion to the communion of saints, including expressly all in a state of grace on earth. Infidels have been converted in France on the occasion of finding in Catholic doctrine a satisfying expression of their revulsion against modern individualism. Brunetière found it in the doctrine of indulgences and other doctrines. But the outward signs of Catholic life in France did not prevent the enemies of Christ from making effective use of the accusation that Christianity is essentially anti-social, and soon the graduates of certain Universities will be found behind the same accusation in America. In 1913 the Rev. A. Guillaume, S.J., published a book in refutation, as did many others. It is not books that are the real refutation, but social works. Father Guillaume undertakes to prove the following thesis: "The object of dogma and moral teaching in the Gospels is not only eternal life and the salvation of the individual. Certainly these hold first place in importance; but our social life, our political existence, the duties of our state in life, are not less clearly defined in the New Testament than is our private life. We should not be individualists. Christian life is not something apart from the social life of Christians. Both are sanctified and made one by the religion of Christ."

Ecclesiastical historians living two centuries hence will have a problem to solve. They will wonder how it came about that

in North America the people fashioned by an individualistic religion like Protestantism were prompter to see and utilize the reaction against the individualism of the nineteenth century than were the people fashioned by a social religion like Catholicism. They will see that the difference was in action, and that both sides seemed to move in a direction opposed to their respective doctrines. Some will perhaps suggest, by way of hypothesis, that, for more than a century, the Catholic seminaries gave elaborate courses called Moral Theology to enable the priest to act as judge of individual cases in the confessional, but no course at all to enable him to preach the ideal of Christian duty in the pulpit. Others will suggest that Catholics yielded to the indolence inherent in human nature when they had the opportunity of performing their social duties by proxy, leaving it all to Priests and Sisters, while Protestants had no such escape from social responsibility. Others, again, will perhaps suggest that the explanation is found in one effect of the Reformation, which forced Catholics to emphasize the importance of Church government and to place under Church government direction a large sphere of Catholic life which was left to voluntary coöperation before the Reformation. Finally, others may advance the opinion that the fight against the encroachment of civil governments in Europe upon Church life placed Catholics in a state of siege and forced them to assume an attitude resembling military formation, and that the twist thus given to Catholic life endured through several generations after the need of it disappeared. Possibly the inquirer of today would be more disposed to conclude that too many pastors are satisfied if they see their congregations seeking the means of grace, and do not go on to see whether the grace flowers and fruits in works of love.

READER.

DISPARITY OF WORSHIP IN THE NEW CODE.

To the Editor, THE ECCLESIASTICAL REVIEW.

Under the former legislation all marriages between baptized and unbaptized persons were null and void. The law was the same for Catholics and for baptized non-Catholics. A marriage between a baptized Protestant and an unbaptized Protestant or

an infidel was invalid, as well as a marriage between a Catholic and an unbaptized Protestant or a Jew.

In the application of this law to cases in which doubt existed about the baptism, the rule followed by canonists and the Roman Congregations was that in relation to marriage a doubtful baptism must be held as a valid baptism, at least till the contrary be proved or accepted even absolutely according to some. Hence, the marriage of a certainly baptized person to one doubtfully baptized was considered valid; on the contrary, a marriage between a doubtfully baptized person and one certainly not baptized had to be treated as null, a consequence which canonists justified with some difficulty, since both parties might happen to be unbaptized and their marriage would be *de facto* a naturally valid contract outside of the jurisdiction of the Church.

In the Code, the law on this subject is thus formulated:

Can. 1070. § 1. Nullum est matrimonium contractum a persona non baptizata cum persona baptizata in Ecclesia Catholica vel ad eamdem ex haeresi aut schismate conversa.

§ 2. Si pars tempore contracti matrimonii tanquam baptizata communiter habebatur aut ejus baptismus erat dubius, standum est, ad normam Can. 1014, pro valore matrimonii, donec certo probetur alteram partem baptizatam esse, alteram vero non baptizatam.

In the first part of this Canon the nature and extent of the impediment are defined. The second section gives a rule for the application of the law to cases of doubtful baptism; both introduce an important change in the former discipline.

The impediment commonly called "Disparity of Worship", although this name is not given it by the legislator, now exists between an unbaptized person and a person baptized in the Catholic Church or converted to it from heresy or schism. It no longer exists between baptized non-Catholics and infidels. This is the obvious meaning of the Canon and the sense in which it has been commonly understood.[1]

[1] Cf. J. Creusen, S.J., and A. Vermeersch, S.J., *Summa Novi Juris Canonici*, commentariis aucta, n. 433; Malines, 1918; A. Tanquerey and E. M. Quevastre, *Brevior Synopsis Theologiae Moralis et Pastoralis*, n. 1453, Paris, 1918; N. Sebastiani, *Summarium Theologiae Moralis* ad Codicem Juris Canonici accommodatum, n. 554, Turin, 1919; Paschalis de Siena, *Theologiae Moralis compendium*, p. 240; Naples, 1918; Americo Bevilacqua, *Trattato dommatico, giuridico a morale sul Matrimonio Christiano*, n. 287, Rome, 1918.

Catholics marrying unbaptized persons are the only ones here mentioned in the law. They must be the only ones affected by it. The marriage of an infidel to a Catholic is declared null; but nothing is said of his marriage with a baptized non-Catholic. The latter must then be valid, for an impediment is not presumed to exist, but has to be positively enacted.

So far as marriage cases go, the rule now is that no longer is a doubtful baptism a valid baptism: we are referred to the general principle that in doubt marriage is to be considered as valid until the contrary be proved; hence, if the party (i. e. the one spoken of in the preceding clause as marrying a Catholic) was, at the time of the marriage, commonly held to be certainly or probably baptized, the marriage must be upheld until it is proved for certain that one of the parties was baptized and the other was not. Henceforth marriage between an infidel and a doubtfully baptized Catholic must be treated as valid unless it be proved that the supposed Catholic was in reality baptized.

Another interpretation of Canon 1070 has been proposed which, if correct, would give it a notably different bearing.[2]

A distinction, it is argued, ought to be made between the two sections of the Canon. The first section refers only to Catholic marriages, but the second applies to marriages of baptized non-Catholics, and in fact is meant specially for them. "Marriage between a person certainly and validly baptized, even outside the Catholic Church, and another certainly not baptized, is invalid". The law then is practically the same for Catholics and for baptized non-Catholics.

All this supposes that the second section of the Canon contains a distinct, independent enactment; in reality it is but a subsidiary provision to be interpreted in connexion with the principal one and within the same limits. One of the theologians quoted above sums up the Canon in this manner, showing clearly the relation between the two parts: "Nullum est matrimonium contractum a persona baptizata in Ecclesia Catholica vel ad eamdem conversa cum persona non baptizata. Si haec tempore contracti matrimonii tanquam baptizata vulgo habebatur, aut ejus baptismus erat dubius, standum est pro valore matrimonii, donec certo probetur primam baptizatam alteram vero non baptizatam esse".

[2] THE ECCLESIASTICAL REVIEW, July, 1919, p. 19, 23, ff.

Taken by itself the second section is obscure and incomplete. It explicitly deals only with cases in which baptism is doubtful. Can it be understood to apply to non-Catholic marriages in such cases? If it is meant chiefly for non-Catholics, why is there nothing stated explicitly about them, particularly as Catholics are expressly mentioned in the first section and the others implicitly excluded? The natural explanation is that the second section was not meant for non-Catholics, any more than the first, which it completes but does not extend.

Heretics and schismatics are exempted from the impediment of disparity of worship as from that of clandestinity (Can. 1099), from the latter explicitly, from the former at least implicitly. In the words of Fr. Creusen (l. c.), "Maxima introducitur his verbis (Can. 1070) juris mutatio. Ab hoc enim impedimento immunes sunt quotquot extra Ecclesiam Catholicam baptizati nec ad eam conversi sunt. Qua sapienti provisione consulit Ecclesia validitati plurimorum matrimoniorum."

Far from leaving us, in this matter, without rule by which to pronounce on non-Catholic marriages which may come under the judgment of the Church, the Code supplies us with one which will reduce considerably the number of invalid contracts and dispense from many long and often very unsatisfactory investigations.

H. A. AYRINHAC, S.S.

Menlo Park, California.

THE SALARIED ASSISTANT CLERGY.

To the Editor, THE ECCLESIASTICAL REVIEW.

I have read with special interest the suggestions of "Observer" in the November number of the REVIEW about an adequate recognition of the services of the Assistant Priest in a parish. In sooth the word salary applied to apostolic laborers in Christ's Vineyard has, like the designation "secular" given to the missionary clergy who happen to labor single-handed and not in a religious community, a connotation that irritates me. I recognize fully the usage that provides a stipulated recompense to priests who devote their time and talent to the spiritual service of the people. But if this honorarium is to be something more and different from the sufficiency for

food and clothing of which St. Paul speaks, there should also be some guaranty that the laborer who claims his hire be worthy of it, as shown in the fidelity with which he attends to his duties. Voluntary devotion, which implies zeal and love for one's work, cannot be measured by "salary". But where a fixed salary is paid, a stipulated service that corresponds to it is demanded. In ordinary business, a man who fails to perform his duty with regularity is "docked" or discharged. If we pay salaries to our priests, let the same rule, which is one of equity, if not of justice, be applied.

I speak so because I have in mind a practical case. I vacated, some years ago, a parish in which there were three assistants. The old pastor, who had been a pioneer and hard worker in his day of pastoral organization, was feeble and ill much of the time; but the people respected and spoke of him with affection. If he claimed any salary, as the bishop insisted he should, he gave it back in a hundred ways to the parish. Of the three assistant priests one had full charge and responsibility. He consulted the pastor in all things and scrupulously fulfilled the duties of his position. Of the other two one was a little saint; the congregation was devoted to him and he spared himself in nothing. He prepared his sermons carefully and was punctually at the altar on Sundays. Although not a good singer, he had natural good taste and whatever he did in the church gave the impression that he was considerate and reverent. The other young man was his superior in wit, facility of speech, and had a fine baritone voice. But he rarely was on time at the altar; went to sick-calls when he must, and people did not care much to have him. He was always out before any of us at supper on Saturdays when we had confessions. Indeed he was away a good deal when not on schedule duty, though he might be wanted for other things expected from a priest in the parish. When it was suggested to him to conform to the methods established by the pastor and observed by the others, he laughed it off in a good-natured way, saying that the "old man" was "all right". As for reporting anything of this sort, since it was no scandal, to the authorities, I believe no one ever thought of it. They would have shrugged their shoulders.

Now there ought to be some understanding, as in any well regulated community, corporation, or family, that if the pastor finds an assistant neglectful, he should have the right to make him feel it in the spot where the latter alone is likely to feel it. I know it sounds outrageous, because we have not looked at it that way. But we have not done so because of the assumption that a priest will do his full duty from the sense of personal responsibility. The pastor may be a "crank"; but that is for the bishop to judge, and in such cases protection is rarely wanting to the suffering party. Since we insist on business-like methods, let us have them all through without sacrificing our spiritual position.

PAROCHULUS.

BLESSING AND INDULGENCING ARTICLES OF DEVOTION.

To the Editor, THE ECCLESIASTICAL REVIEW.

In the September number of the REVIEW, which I regret I did not see sooner, I happened to notice to-day the answer given to "Parochus" in regard to blessing and indulgencing religious articles of devotion. There are several points in the answer to which I would ask to be permitted to call attention.

First, as to the power of delegation. Assuming that the faculties referred to in the question of "Parochus" are based on the delegation of powers bestowed by Canons 349 and 239 on bishops and cardinals, I think it must be maintained on general principles that the faculties mentioned in those Canons cannot be delegated.

The faculties conferred are evidently personal privileges granted to the *dignity* rather than to the *office*. As far as cardinals are concerned, the faculties are given irrespective of whether or not their Eminences have the episcopal character or jurisdiction, and those granted to bishops are shared equally by the titular and the residential bishop, with the exception of the last three mentioned in Canon 349, which are expressly reserved to bishops ordinary.

Now because they are purely personal privileges none of these faculties can be delegated. Were the power of delegation inherent in cardinals and bishops as to these faculties, it would be as reasonable to delegate any one of them as another. The most cursory reading of the Canons will show, however, that

such delegation is not intended by the supreme authority, but rather the restriction of the privileges to the persons mentioned, following in this the common doctrine as to strictly personal privileges.

It seems to be evident then, I think, from general principles that not any of these faculties may be delegated. But, if any lingering doubt remained on that point, a decision given to the Archbishop of San Francisco makes it clear that the contention advanced as to the strictly personal character of these privileges is the correct one. In answer to the question: "An liceat Episcopis communicare presbyteris suae ditionis habitualiter potestatem benedicendi rosaria, etc., de qua in canone 349, § 1, n. 1, cum applicatione indulgentiarum, observatis ritibus ab Ecclesia praescriptis," the " Sacra Poenitentiaria Apostolica, re mature considerata, respondendum censuit: *Negative.*" (18 July, 1919. Cf. ECCL. REVIEW, November number, p. 555.)

This answer of the Grand Penitentiary settles at any rate the question of the power of delegation of cardinals and bishops to bless and to indulgence.

Again, it is doubtful, indeed I believe more than doubtful, whether the bishops can even bless with the simple sign of the cross. Were this power theirs, there would be no need of distinguishing between the privilege of cardinals and that of bishops, as the Canons certainly do distinguish.

Moreover, the decisions given and quoted in the answer on this point were made, I believe, in view of the exercise of a delegated power in virtue of apostolic privilege and in apostolic form. Under the revoked faculties, the indulgences applied were the Papal ones, so called, and the " forma consueta " for them is the sign of the cross. The Pope when he blesses and indulgences religious articles does so by the simple sign of the cross or by lifting the first and second fingers of the right hand. The phrase " in forma consueta " therefore differs very widely from that other phrase " ritibus praescriptis ". We must go to the Missal, the Pontifical, or the Ritual, as the case may require, for rites prescribed by the Church. As the doubt concerns the validity of indulgences the safe side should be taken.

But if bishops cannot delegate their powers, have priests no longer power to bless religious articles? Undoubtedly they

have, and from the Code itself, the power to *bless* (Canon 1147) but not to *indulgence* such articles. The blessing in the Ritual, "Benedictio imaginum," satisfies nearly every need, and in case the Ritual gives no prescribed form, the "Benedictio ad omnia" can be used.

It is true that the "Benedictio imaginum" is a reserved blessing, as will be found by reference to the index of the Ritual, but writers on the liturgy maintain that the reservation holds only in the case of solemn blessings with pomp and ceremony (de Herdt, Vol. III, 292).

CHAS. J. POWERS.

New York.

MARYKNOLL MISSION LETTERS. IX.

AMERICAN CATHOLIC MISSION, YEUNGKONG, CHINA,
22 April, 1919.

I have just finished my fourth missionary trip—this time on the lookout for consolations. It is unreasonable, I know, to expect immediate results, but it does no good to hide the fact that I really did look for them—and wasn't disappointed.

Like youngsters taking quinine in liquid form, we decided to get the worst over first; so we laid out the eastern section of the Yeungkong district as our first stopping place. An early dinner on Saturday, 29 March, put us in good humor for the six hours' trip before us. Fr. Meyer accompanied Fr. Gauthier and me as far as the eastern branch of the Yeungkong River. He left us at the wharf, which in this case was several rocks thrown into the mud. It was one o'clock and the boat did not put in an appearance until two; and we were poled up the river against a cold north wind that brought a colder rain. A motor launch would make the other side in five minutes, but our brave sailor gloried in his control of the destinies of twelve lives and took a good half-hour to pole us to the other group of rocks. Figuring on the hole he made in our own pile of sapeka, his revenue is easily $10 per day. Whether that would pay an enterprising motor-boat owner or not, I can't say; but as we trotted along to restore circulation, we sighed for the days of the airplane. We passed Pengham, "Blue Meadows," on our left; has at least one thousand souls, all unbaptized. Ngashin, "Elegant Harmony," was our first stop.

I have given up hope of finding the "why" of Chinese names. "Elegant Harmony" is a village of straggling houses facing a muddy drainage system. Long, long ago the Catholics numbered here twenty-nine, all from the Wan family. "Wan" means "to joke"; at any rate we found "nary a wan" there, and after ten minutes' rapid questioning the Rip Van Winkle of the family appeared at the door of the "chapel" to tell us that one by one they all had died in the years since the mission was started. The chapel is a one-story, single room, with dirt floor, and furnished with two chairs, a table, and a faded picture of the Sacred Heart. It is simply one of the dozen shops on the road. If it were sold, it might bring $40, though it cost the Christians $100, some years ago.

We stood around just long enough for everyone to know we were there, and then we headed east to Saikan, "Broad Ditch" where a surprise greeted me in the shape of a huge chapel, large enough to hold half of the three hundred men in this market-place; and the chapel is the smallest part of the church property. Fronting the street was a group of houses, in all about ten rooms, while behind, opening on a road, are the ruins of a school-room. The property must be 250 by 250 feet. All except the school are in perfect shape, built of dressed stone up to six feet, the rest in first-class burnt brick. Years ago the Christians, who then numbered forty, paid $1500 for the structures, but it had cost at least $5,000 to build. Formerly it was one of a chain of pawnshops in the principal marketplaces and the company for some unknown reason has parted with it at an unusual pawnshop "sacrifice".

John Chinaman's "uncle" seems to be the most prosperous of any we have seen. He takes care of winter clothes in summer, charging only 33 per cent of their value for storage; but the pawnshop does real service, besides, in guarding valuables in its safe deposits against the annual attacks of bandits.

The chapel at Saikan looks like a regimental armory or a fortress, built in the thirteenth, "the greatest of centuries". Its walls are more than a foot thick and pierced by narrow slits to rest a gun and give a little light. Yet the high slanting roof and austere walls looked chaste, and its sombre twilight was not unpleasing. Our quiet was not disturbed during the first night by any visitors, for our letter to the Chris-

tians had not arrived and no one expected us in this busy month of rice-planting and rain. But in the morning one by one the Christians dropped in to see us, and our hopes rose as the rain fell. After all, it takes some zeal for men to come in pouring rain as soon as they hear of our arrival. The history of religion here is not so bright. The movement toward conversion seemed good fifteen years ago, but the newly baptized and those under instruction had no sooner bought the chapel than the missioner was recalled elsewhere, and ours was practically the first visit they had received since. Merchants in the markets change frequently and of the forty names on our register only eight could still be accounted for after subtracting the score who had died. These eight have twelve children who are growing up without instruction and I feel we have come just in time to save all to the Church. A little school here will revive the spirit and our more frequent visits will keep it warm. Both a catechist and a school teacher are needed here, though at best we can't hope for much from the shifting population of a market place. Villages are God's chosen spots where simple folk are not distracted in their newly found service of Him. But we must not let our baptized townsfolk suffer because of their misfortune in being born of the gypsy type.

Looking for consolations here, I found some in the new pews and neatly kept altar, decorated with flowers and a crucifix, whither these abandoned eight have been in the habit of coming for night prayers. They have at least the grace of faith, if everything else is wanting, and no one perhaps is to blame for their poverty in knowledge and Catholic life. Thank God, now they will gradually learn more of the beauties of our Faith and get some of her consolations, for the chapel is only a day's journey from Yeungkong.

The Protestants, as usual, are to be found in the market-places, though they leave us the villages in the interior. They use the second most prominent building here for services. One of our visitors was a quiet man who answered my stammering greeting with: "Do you speak English?" He is a pharmacist and spent a dozen years at a college in Samoa and at Hongkong, studying medicine. He knew Franciscan Fathers there and appeared interested in the fact that American missioners are to take charge at Yeungkong.

On Monday, 31 March, we set out again. The rain obligingly stopped; in fact our pagan porter remarked that God must be watching over us, for it rained when we stopped and stopped when we started again. This time we headed north toward Pakwan, arriving after three hours of the muddiest water this side of a pig pen; the roads become creeks and the Chinese disregard unnecessary clothing and make capital of the deluge by damning the rice paddies. They look picturesque, knee-deep in the water, urging on the antideluvian monsters called water-buffaloes, that plow the mud for future crops; but the water must be cold and the stiff wind surely caked the mud on their legs.

On our former visit we had found Pakwan on its last legs both as to souls and building, but $10, judiciously spent, made the chapel habitable, with kneelers and two lamps, and there were thirty men and boys at Mass. The little school, just started, numbers twenty, of whom three are the children of pagans, although none of the twenty has yet been baptized. There were three baptized women present; one was 77 years old, toothless but smiling; and her dangling earrings testified her joy at being able to hear Mass before her death.

The chapel was habitable from a Chinese point of view, though it lacks windowpanes and its ant-eaten upright beams lean to one side. The school needs immediate improvement. The twenty boys depend on light from the open door—there are no windows in the room. A little light also comes through a small opening in the roof, six feet square, that used to serve as an outlet for smoke. If four of these roof-windows were put in and paned, it would be enough. The brick floor, too, is disagreeable, as it is lower than the street outside and rain-water gravitates in. The rain that fell while we were there measured over an inch outside my room. The cure for it is to clean out the drain that runs in front of the property, so I sent the teacher to Fr. Price to "brace" him for five "bucks".

Their greater need, however, is a woman catechist to instruct the ten women who want Baptism, and, thank God, we have in mind a woman at Canton whom we can get for this place. It is not always the means that are lacking, for women catechists are hard to find; they must be of "uncertain" age and well grounded at least in the essential doctrines of our Faith, and this combination in a new territory is rare.

The Presbyterian teacher here paid us a social call, drank the formal cup of tea, and smoked the regulation puff of tobacco. He is an alert young fellow.

FRANCIS X. FORD.

CHURCH ARCHITECTURE.

To the Editor, THE ECCLESIASTICAL REVIEW.

The discussion on Church Architecture promises to produce good results. It is a source of pleasure to read the arguments of Father Francis E. Walsh in favor of study and the acquisition of suitable knowledge, and his logic ought to convince even the most indifferent.

Another critic objects (1) to polished marbles; (2) to the column and arch work in front of the *mensa*; (3) to the steps for candles and flower vases; (4) to the reredos; (5) to all lace; and (6) apparently to all ornaments. He would recommend a simple table of good solid wood, with four substantial legs, on which he would have standing an hexagonal or octagonal tabernacle.

It would take too much valuable time to review all this destructive criticism. Does he object to the marble as such or the marble as polished? We find that marble has always been greatly admired by the most artistic nations. So far as the polishing is concerned, didn't Solomon have polished stones in his magnificent temple? And surely he was somewhat artistic—at least the Queen of Sheba thought so. Possibly it is the suggestion of the soda fount which annoys him. But this is rather a refreshing thought, especially in hot weather. And doesn't the Scripture say: "You shall draw waters in joy from the fountains of the Saviour"?

So far as ornaments are concerned, didn't the Wise Man have "turnings" with "joints artfully wrought", and "carvings projecting out"? And didn't he carve "all the walls of the temple round about . . . with divers figures and carvings"? And didn't he make in them "cherubim and palm trees and divers representations" in relief? He was very fond of pillars too, on the capitals of which he made "a kind of net work, and chain of work wreathed together with wonderful art", and figures of pomegranates above these and on the tops of the

pillars "lily work", etc. By the way, doesn't this network indicate very clearly the lacework effect?

I agree with Father Busch that his simple unadorned table will do away with the expense of floral decoration.

In conclusion, that my stand in the matter of design and ornamentation may not be misunderstood, I may be permitted to say that I am inclined to see "sermons in stones and good in everything". I admire every classic style of architecture with its ornamentation. In reference to later styles, though there was much in the spirit of the Renaissance opposed to the Church, the Church never condemned that which was good in the Renaissance, but adopted it. The suggestions which were made for the construction of an inexpensive altar were for the case of "necessity or temporary expediency" only, and will, I believe, prove very acceptable.

H. A. JUDGE, S.J.

New York City.

A RUBRICAL ALTAR.

To the Editor, THE ECCLESIASTICAL REVIEW.

The question "What is a Rubrical Altar?" remains unanswered. The superstructure of the tabernacle as found in most of our parish churches seems to me to be contrary to the explicit legislation concerning this very important subject. If we had the views of a liturgist, we might all, priests and altar builders included, profit by his knowledge.

I am certainly not opposed to a "reredos", but it must be properly placed. The baldachinum, a very ornamental and imposing structure, must extend over the entire altar.

Father Judge thinks I am too pessimistic. Let us raise the number of the clergy competent to judge to two per cent. That will give us an average of four priests in each diocese, which is, in my opinion, a very large number of priests who would be able to express an authoritative opinion that a certain detail can be incorporated in a plan and that it is in harmony with the style adopted. In my article I expressly state, "If the pastor knows the rubrics and knows architecture, he would certainly be a judge". I would not for one moment think that we are all incompetent, or that none of us has made some

studies regarding this matter. Moreover I am convinced that if we were to submit a plan of an altar to the Congregation of Rites, bring it officially to their notice, they would have to pronounce *non licet*. I am sure that they do not visit the ateliers of the Italian artists to condemn the works they are producing, any more than the bishops here visit the factories where so many of our "artistic" productions are brought to light.

My opinion is that the Congregation of Rites states and enacts into Rubrics what must be observed. This is transmitted to the bishops and clergy, and the clergy are supposed to be men who will abide by and observe these laws. The bishops generally take for granted that they are observed; otherwise it would be hard to explain why gas is piped through candlesticks and used on the altar. Only once or twice has Rome "followed up" her prescriptions by asking the bishops to make a detailed report, for instance, about Modernism and about the introduction of Gregorian Chant in the churches of the diocese.

Father Walsh says, and he is right, "There are only a few American architects who design good churches". But when you know that you have a competent architect, then leave it to him. Know that you have a competent decorator, and leave it to him. This knowledge can be obtained by the priest, by studying the productions of the architect and decorator, or let him ask one of the few priests of his diocese who know architecture and the canons of decoration.

Our seminaries may sometime give a little attention to it, hoping that it will be enough to enable the priest to detect monstrosities and incompetents. If they succeed in this they will indeed have advanced our status in altar and church building considerably.

F. J. JANSEN.

A WORD ON MEDICAL AUTHORITIES.

A priest writes to the editor of THE ECCLESIASTICAL REVIEW kindly drawing attention to an error on page 227 of my book, *The Ethics of Medical Homicide and Mutilation*. The passage is, "If the function . . . can not be restored by the surgeon

the patient is impotent, and any marriage he would make, *or has made*, is rendered void." The words in italics evidently should be deleted or explained. They slipped past unnoticed in the proof reading.

The same writer is surprised by the doctrine in Chapter XIX, which holds that it is impossible to tell with our present knowledge whether a syphilitic has really been cured or not, and that therefore anyone who marries a person that has been a syphilitic but is supposedly cured runs grave risk of infection. The priest, who speaks in a very courteous manner, tells me he has been obliged to rely on the contrary opinion of "three of the leading physicians" of his own district in Texas. These three physicians were giving the doctrine of the old text books, which has been shown to be erroneous, as I proved in the chapter mentioned. In this chapter I based my opinion upon recently discovered facts; and the opinion expressed there is that of Blaschko, Erlich, Wassermann, Hata, Gower, Raven, Bonnet, and others, who are the most eminent authorities in the world. Fournier, the classic chief authority among syphilographers, saw three cases where the tertiary symptoms appeared first fifty years after the primary infection and treatment. As opposed to the opinion of these men the "authority" of the three leading physicians of the Texan town is, of course, altogether irrelevant. What I say in Chapter XX on the effects of gonorrhea, and the difficulty in deciding whether a gonorrheic is cured or not, I stand by without reservation; again on the authority of the greatest recent medical authorities.

Here I should like to draw attention to the danger of mistaking for the truth the medical opinions of "the most eminent physician", or the "leading physicians", in our village or city. That a man has a large medical practice does not make him a medical authority. He may be an imposing character with a fair knowledge of practical medicine; he may lack competitors; he always is dealing with the average *clientèle* which judges a physician by his limousine, by what he claims, by what Mrs. So-and-so, the leading clubwoman, says. Many of the greatest authorities in medicine are men who pay little or no attention to popular practice. They are unknown to the public. They are profound students who work at medicine primarily

because they delight in it. They do not live in villages. As opposed to these, I know many "eminent physicians", with a very large practice in our leading cities, with two or three limousines, but they can not differentiate between the last stages of Bright's disease and "a touch of the grippe". If the diagnosis of grippe was forbidden by law during the winter months these men would get into an honest business. There is immeasurably more quackery in medicine than there is in even law and theology.

How is the clergyman, or anyone else, to judge whether the opinion of a physician in a grave medico-moral case is of value or not? He can not. That is the reason for the existence of the book discussed here.

AUSTIN O'MALLEY.

THE JAPANESE MISSIONARIES OF 1865.

To the Editor, THE ECCLESIASTICAL REVIEW.

Permit me to submit the following remarks about an interesting article published in the REVIEW for November, under the title: "Keeping the Faith without Priests in Japan".

The article relates the discovery in Japan of Christians who had preserved the faith for two hundred years without priests or the sacraments. It is claimed that the discovery was made by "Jesuit missionaries". But at that time (1865) there was not a single Jesuit in Japan. Father Petitjean who made the discovery and is called "the Jesuit Fr. Petitjean" was never a member of the Society of Jesus but of the Society for Foreign Missions of Paris.

Fr. Petitjean never became Vicar Apostolic of Hongkong, as stated, but was at first Vicar Apostolic of all Japan, and subsequently of Southern Japan when the country was divided into two Vicariates in 1876; he died in Nagasaki in 1884.

The author speaks of the "beautiful edifice built at Nagasaki through the munificence of the French Empress", in which the discovery was made. As a matter of fact the church of Nagasaki is a very modest building erected by the missionaries in honor of the twenty-six Japanese Martyrs, canonized by Pius IX in 1862, and Empress Eugenie had nothing to do with its construction.

JOSEPH FRERI.

The statement that Fr. Petitjean was not a member of the Society of Jesus but of the Paris Foreign Missions, is correct.

The incident referred to was taken from the biographical sketch of a Jesuit Martyr and this led to the unimportant error.

As to Fr. Petitjean's being Vicar Apostolic of Hongkong, the article did not so state; but he was consecrated at Hongkong, as the record shows, 21 October, 1866.

Regarding the edifice at Nagasaki where the incident took place, the Jesuit Father Joseph Broeckaert states: "Thanks to an offering from the empress of the French and a subscription gotten up among the foreign residents, the works were begun in 1863." "This church", wrote Father Petitjean, "excited general admiration. The gilt crosses of its three steeples glitter within sight of Nagasaki. Old folks and young, men and women, soldiers and civilians, make it a party of pleasure to come and see the French church as they call it." (*Life of the Blessed Charles Spinola, of the Society of Jesus* [New York: John J. Shea, 1869], p. 19 of the Introduction.)

MIDNIGHT MASS ON CHRISTMAS DAY IN A MISSION CHURCH.

Qu. A pastor in the Southwest has two churches in his parish—thirty miles apart. He says Mass in the principal church every Sunday and on weekdays, and in the mission church every other Sunday. He wishes to give the people of both churches an opportunity to hear Mass and receive Holy Communion on Christmas Day. He can only do so if he says midnight Mass at the mission church, and then, leaving there on the morning train (6:30), says Mass at 8:30 and 10:30 at his principal church.

The writer holds that there is a sufficient reason under these circumstances why permission should be given to distribute Holy Communion at the midnight Mass at the mission church, for all the people of the mission wish to receive Jesus on Christmas morning. Furthermore, Mass at the mission church on Sundays is usually at about twelve o'clock, and it is difficult for the congregation, especially those who have to come from a great distance, to keep fasting so late and then return home still fasting. Do you agree with the writer?

Resp. A pastor who is ready to make the personal sacrifice as indicated above in order to give Mass and Holy Communion to his flock, has good reason to expect all the privileges which will make his pastoral zeal effective. There is, however, a general law which for wise reasons forbids the celebration of midnight Mass in circumstances and in places where ordinarily

the necessary solemnity required for the sacred act cannot be assured. Hence the Canons restrict the privilege of celebrating midnight Mass to parish and conventual church (Can. 821, n. 2). As to Holy Communion, it may be given whenever Mass is allowed (Can. 867, nn. 1 and 4), unless the Ordinary prohibit it for special reasons.

The laws of the Church are made for the benefit of the people; and it is for the bishop, as the guardian of the flock, to interpret and apply the law, or to administer it in such wise that it benefits his flock rather than deprives them of the favors which the Church in her economy intends and provides. She is not averse to dispensing readily for the benefit of her people when she is made aware of the reasons that demand, in particular cases, an exemption from the general law. In the matter of the Christmas Mass this lenient tendency of the Church is seen in the fact that on the Nativity, as on the other great feasts of the ecclesiastical cycle, she permits a Mass even in places that are under solemn interdict, and therefore deprived of the regular spiritual privileges until the interdict is lifted. We may assume, then, that she would grant similar privileges or dispensations from the general law which, under ordinary conditions, wisely guards the sacred services, if requested to do so through the proper channel. The proper channel in communication with the legislative authority of the Church is the Ordinary for the priests and people over whom he has jurisdiction.

As the appointed overseer (*episcopus*), it is for him to make himself familiar with the needs of his flock. Hence it may justly be expected that such cases as the above would move him spontaneously to apply to the Holy See for a privilege which would spell no danger of wrong or abuse, but would rejoice priest and people alike and increase the spiritual strength as well as the loyalty of the flock in the diocese. It can hardly be doubted that the Holy See would make concessions in many similar cases calculated to promote faith and piety among the people. But they must be asked for, and the reasons given that call for them, with the understanding that they are special concessions for special cases, places and times, so as not to become the regular norm or productive of abuses. It is proper to quote the law and stick to it, but there are conditions when

Rome would infinitely prefer to dispense from it in the interests of souls. It is for this reason that, besides the written law, we have consecrated living executives, interpreters, and intermediaries whose privilege it is to make the dispensation of sacramental graces as fruitful as possible.

INDULGENCES AT HOLY COMMUNION.

Qu. In the article on "Ways of Promoting Holy Communion" (October number, p. 377) it is stated that "an indulgence of 500 days can be gained by looking upon the Consecrated Host and saying mentally or orally, 'My Lord and my God!'" This statement is made in reference to the proper way to approach the Sacred Banquet. I find no such indulgences either in the Raccolta or in the past numbers of the REVIEW, which publishes the Roman decrees on such matters.

Resp. The statement in question was set down in error. Pius X, by rescript of 18 May, 1907, granted an indulgence of seven years and seven quarantines for the ejaculation "My Lord and my God", while looking upon the Sacred Host at the elevation in Mass or during Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament. A plenary indulgence is attached to this practice for those who repeat it daily, if they receive Holy Communion devoutly once a week. In the volume *Daily Communion* (p. 20) which the writer of the article, we understand, had in mind, we read: "When the priest reaches the Host to us (at Holy Communion) we should also look at it, and say to ourselves 'My Lord and my God'," whence he drew the conclusion that the words may be said mentally, though that would not be accurate. The words of indulgenced prayers are to be recited orally, except in the case of deaf-mutes, or where it is expressly stated in the concession "saltem mentaliter", as in the case of the ejaculation "Jesus" at the reception of the plenary indulgence at the hour of death.

DISPOSING OF THE ABLUTION WHEN BINATING.

Qu. Not long since I was called upon to exchange places with another priest on Sunday. I celebrated the first Mass in a country church, and later High Mass in town. Mentioning the ablution cup, the priest remarked that I could pour the ablution into the sacrarium

instead of taking it back to consume it at the second Mass. He was assured by another priest that this could be done with perfect propriety. Will you please state whether there is any positive ruling on this matter? J. W.

Resp. In conditions like the above it is often difficult to manage to take either the chalice or the ablution from one place to another; it may be also impossible to leave the ablution for consumption at a Mass in the same place later on. In such cases the Instruction of Pius IX (11 March, 1858) may be followed with perfect propriety. The celebrant, after having consumed the Precious Blood at the first Mass, places the chalice on the corporal, covers it, and, after purifying his fingers whilst reciting the customary prayers, completes the Mass. After the last Gospel he returns to the centre of the altar, uncovers the chalice, and reverently drains the drops that may have collected at the bottom of the cup. Into the chalice he then pours water, which he empties in turn into a vessel, dries the purified cup and covers it as usual. After the Mass he may either absorb the water in the purification vessel with cotton to be burnt; or he may pour it into the sacrarium. "Aqua e Calice dimissa pro rerum adjunctis, vel ad diem crastinum servetur (si nempe eo rursus sacerdos redeat Missam habiturus) et in exequenda purificatione in calicem demittatur; vel gossipio aut stupa absorpta comburatur; vel in sacrario si sit, exsiccanda relinquatur, vel demittatur in piscinam." (Decr. Instr. cit.)

OBLIGATION OF THE NATURAL FAST BEFORE A SURGICAL OPERATION.

Qu. Father A., in visiting the hospital, is told that in an hour Mary, a tubercular patient, is to be operated upon, and desires to receive Holy Communion. He asks about the nature of the operation and is told that a portion of bone is to be taken from the shin and to be inserted into a diseased section of the spine. Mary is not fasting. Can he give her Holy Communion on the ground that this is a major operation involving danger of death and therefore entitling the patient to the reception of the last sacraments, without fasting?

Resp. The first consideration is, Does the surgeon in charge think the operation involves danger of death? What doctors term a major operation is an operation in an illness that

requires skillful surgery in order to help cure the patient, and it generally involves some fatal risk which warrants the administration of the last sacraments. If no definite opinion as to the risk can be obtained from the proper authority, the priest may use his own judgment. In the present case the operation is one that presumably requires the patient to be placed under ether; it is sufficiently long and complicated to expose her to danger of shock, blood-poisoning, heart failure or similar accidents, in a weakened tubercular condition of body, to suggest danger of death with accompanying delirium. Under these circumstances the patient is entitled to the benefit permitting not only the reception of the Blessed Sacrament as Viaticum or without fasting, but of Extreme Unction. Theologians agree that a patient under these circumstances must be "in periculo mortis quacumque ex causa"; but they do not require that the danger is morally certain. It suffices that there be a prudent doubt: "Sufficit dubium prudens praesertim quando timendum est ne aeger repentina morte corripiatur. Immo graviter arguendi sunt parochi qui ex vano timore administrationem . . . protrahunt." (S. Alphons., *Homo Apost.*, n. 46.) The same principle may be applied even in what are called cases of minor operation, when, whilst the work of the surgeon is brief and without complication or difficulty, the effect upon the patient may be such as to produce heart failure, nervous shock, or blood poisoning. The latter may occur in spite of antiseptic precautions, from a variety of causes, such as particles of undigested food in operations on the digestive organs. So long as the person to be operated on is actually ill, and there is danger of the kind mentioned above, the patient is entitled to all the indulgence that can assist him or her either toward recovery or the preparation for a blessed death.

FORTY HOURS' ADORATION ON ALL SOULS' DAY.

We wish to correct an error which crept into the October issue of the REVIEW (p. 448) regarding the order to be observed in places where the Commemoration of All Souls happens to fall on one of the three days when the Forty Hours' Devotion is held. The rules are as follows:

1. If the Commemoration of All Souls falls on the day of Exposition (first day of the Forty Hours' Adoration) the solemn (cantata) Mass is that of All Souls' Day. After it the Exposition takes place without Mass, but with the other customary ceremonies.

2. If the Commemoration of All Souls fall on the second day of the Forty Hours' Adoration, the solemn Mass is that of All Souls' Day. The *Missa pro Pace* is omitted.

3. If the Commemoration of All Souls falls on the third day of the Forty Hours' Adoration, the reposition of the Blessed Sacrament takes place with the usual ceremonies and procession, without Mass. Afterward the solemn Mass of All Souls' Day is celebrated.

4. All the Masses (de Requie) private, solemn or chanted, in the church where the Blessed Sacrament is publicly exposed, are celebrated in violet vestments, and not at the altar of Exposition. (S. R. C., 9 July, 1895, n. 384 ad IV.)

FROGS' LEGS AS ABSTINENCE FOOD?

Qu. Is it permissible to eat frogs' legs as abstinence food on Fridays?

Resp. Yes. The frog being an amphibian, aquatic in its origin, and classed with the cold-blooded respirants, is commonly regarded as fish. Hence it may be freely eaten on days of abstinence. In the Spanish dominions the edible frog is regarded as either fish or flesh, and by common custom is taken with meat on days when, formerly, flesh meat and fish at the same meal were forbidden. (Cf. Ferreres, *Compend. Theol.*, tom. I, n. 597).

Ecclesiastical Library Table

RECENT BIBLE STUDY.

The Name of Jahweh.

We have seen that *Jehovah* is wrong.[1] The true pronunciation of IHWH was early lost to Israel, because of the prohibition against pronouncing the unutterable name. Adonai was generally read instead of the Tetragrammaton; so its vowels came to be written with the four consonants IHWH. The mistake of assigning the vowels of Adonai to the consonants I-H-W-H, led to the hybrid word *Jehovah*. This erroneous form can be traced back to the *Pugio Fidei Christianæ*, written by Raymond Martini, O.P., in 1278.

Dr. Andrew Bruce Davidson, Professor of Hebrew, New College, Edinburgh, errs in writing that *Jehovah* is "not older in date than the time of the Reformation (1520)."[2] And the *Oxford Hebrew Dictionary* is also wrong, when it says: "The pronunciation *Jehovah* was unknown until 1520, when it was introduced by Galatinus".[3] Still, the Protestants have the discredit of having given a vogue to *Jehovah*, even though the form was used by a learned Dominican nearly 250 years before the Reformation. The hatred of the Latin Vulgate, neglect of the LXX, and undue esteem of the extant Masoretic text, led Protestants into a sad lapse in Hebrew: the use of *Jehovah* as Hebrew, though it is not Hebrew at all.

Recently a *tállît*, or prayer-scarf, was sent to the present writer to be deciphered. Throughout its long inscription, THE NAME was embroidered in ligature: the letter ה surmounted by three lines, which diverged from the middle of the top thereof. These diverging lines were probably the letter *shín*. The ligature stood for *hásh-shêm*, THE NAME, τὸ ὄνομα. An ancient Hebrew substitute for IHWH is *hásh-shêm*.[4]

I. Jahweh is correct To arrive at the correct reading of the Tetragrammaton, we examine the passage wherein Jahweh

[1] Cf. "The Unutterable Name", Ecclesiastical Review, November, 1919, pp. 592 ff.

[2] Hastings, *Dictionary of the Bible*, vol. ii (New York: Scribner's, 1900), s. v. "God", p. 199.

[3] *A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament*, edited by Brown, Driver, and Briggs (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1906), p. 218.

[4] *Oxford Hebrew Dictionary*, p. 218.

gives this name to Himself, what time He speaks to Moses from out the burning bush on Horeb:

> And Moses said to God: "Lo, I go to the sons of Israel; and shall tell them, The God of your fathers has sent me to you. Then will they say to me, What is His name? What shall I say to them?" And God said to Moses: "I am He, who is I AM. Say to the sons of Israel: I AM sent me to you. . . . Jahweh, God of your fathers, God of Abraham, God of Isaac, God of Jacob, sent me to you. This is my name forever." [5]

Likely the name of predilection, by which God was hitherto known among the Israelites, was "God of Abraham, God of Isaac, God of Jacob". Moses may have expected that God would appeal to this name, as proof to the people that the one, true God had spoken. Instead, God calls Himself by a new name, the name of Jahweh.

1. *A New Name.* Was the name of Jahweh new? That seems to be so. The "God of Abraham, God of Isaac, God of Jacob," had not revealed the name of Jahweh to the patriarchs. He said to Moses:

> I am Jahweh. I appeared to Abraham, to Isaac, and to Jacob, as El Shâddâi; [6] but by my name of Jahweh [7] I was not made known to them.[8]

Vigouroux [9] thinks that the patriarchs really knew the name of Jahweh; but were not aware of its efficacy. They had not borne witness to the wonders, promised unto them and wrought in favor of others. If this be true, then God's choice of the name of Jahweh implies merely a new significance to an old name. However, we disagree with Vigouroux; the name of Jahweh seems not to have been in use by the patriarchs. In Exodus 3: 13-15, Jahweh revealed to Moses an entirely new divine name.

Against the opinion of Vigouroux is the clear witness of Theodoret, A. D. 393-457, Bishop of Cyrus:

> For that name, *which He had not revealed to the patriarchs,* He revealed to him. Because He said to him: I am He, who is I AM.

[5] Exodus 3: 13-15.

[6] "God of Might"; Vulg., "in Deo Omnipotente"; LXX elsewhere, *παντοκράτωρ.*

[7] Vulg., "Adonai", a mistaking of the text as read (*Qerê*) for the text as written (*Kethîbh*).

[8] Exodus 6: 2-3.

[9] *La Sainte Bible Polyglotte,* vol. 1 (Paris: Roger et Chernoviz, 1900), p. 295.

By the Hebrews this is called the unutterable name; since it is prohibited them to utter it with the tongue. It is written with four letters; and so they speak of it as the Tetragrammon. . . . The Samaritans pronounce it Ἰαβέ; the Jews, Ἰά.[10]

How, then, does Jahweh occur 148 times in the Masoretic text Gen. 1:1—Exod. 3:12? Well, the name was revealed to Moses at the beginning of the Exodus; and his final inspired redaction of the Pentateuch need not have been done until about thirty-eight years later. During these thirty-eight years the name of Jahweh may have become so much a part of Israel's life as to have led Moses to its use in Gen. 1:1—Exod. 3:12.

Moreover, it may readily be that, in this pericope, *Jahweh*, is a scribal substitution of the new name in the stead of *Elohim*. Dr. Schlögl, of the University of Vienna, has shown that the text and ancient versions of this pericope have the common reading *Jahweh* only in thirty cases. As for the rest, the 118 variations between text and versions—in reading *Jahweh*, *Elohim*, or *Jahweh Elohim*—seem to preclude any certainty of an original *Jahweh*, even where that reading is handed down by all the witnesses.[11]

Agar gave a new name to God, when an angel revealed to her the forthcoming birth, name, and character of Israel. She said: "Thou art *El Ro'i*"—that is, "God seeing me".[12] In keeping with this usage of Semitic folk, God gives to Himself a new name. He thereby better stresses the theocratic rule, which is now inaugurated by means of Moses. How meaningful the name came to be! It is used by the Masoretic text 6823 times! This "glorious and fearful name, Jahweh,"[13] distinguished the God of Israel from pagan gods; and the blasphemy thereof was punished by stoning unto death.[14] It was the very tremendousness of the name of Jahweh that occasioned its taboo and loss. This taboo was long continued.[15] As late as A. D. 130, Abba Shaul pronounced eternal damnation against one who would dare enunciate THE NAME.[16]

[10] *In Exodum*, Quæst. 15; P. G. 80:244. The reading Ἰά is preferable to its variant Ἀϊά.

[11] Cf. our study of these conclusions of Dr. Schlögl in "Pentateuchal Criticism", ECCLESIASTICAL REVIEW, February, 1914, pp. 108 ff.

[12] Genesis 16:13.

[13] Deuteronomy 28:58.

[14] Leviticus 24:11.

[15] Cf. above citation from Theodoret, *In Exodum*, Quæst. 15.

[16] Cf. Dalman, *Der Gottesname Adonaj und seine Geschichte* (Berlin, 1889).

2. *Pronunciation of Jahweh.* Various restorations of the unutterable name have been suggested: *Jáhwéh, Jáhawéh, Jáhwâh,* and *Jáhawáh.* In all these suggestions, it has been assumed that IHWH is a form derived from the imperfect of *hāwâh,* which is the archaic for *hājâh,* "to be". The inseparable suffix *Jāhû* of proper names, the divine name *Jâh,* and the suffix *Jâh,* are all considered by Kautzsch [17] and most scholars to be abbreviations of *Jáhwéh.* Thus G. J. Spurrell [18] explains *Jāhû* as *Jáh,* an abbreviation of *Jáhwéh* which is according to the quite common rule of apocopation of verbs *lamed-jod* and *lamed-he.* This view is favored by Driver: [19]

> The habit of apocopating the imperfect tense of verbs *lamed-he* was so familiar to the Hebrews that a word of similar formation, especially when forming the second part of a compound name, must have lent itself to it quite naturally.

Grimme [20] admits the pronunciation *Jáhwéh*; but defends *Jāhû* as its root-form. Scholars have not been convinced by the learning with which this Catholic Biblist has striven to back up his theory. His arguments are not conclusive. We shall later refer to other opinions as to the origin of the name of Jahweh. Suffice it here to give the extravagant Jerahme'el theory of Cheyne.

The once famous Anglican minister scents North Arabia as the source of all religious ideas of the Old Testament. And so, in interpreting Exodus 3: 13-15, he only evinces how higher criticism may cause the noble mind of man to degenerate. For a while the Oriel Professor of the Interpretation of Sacred Scripture at Oxford was a Pan-Babylonian. Later on his divisive criticism became neurasthenic. He wildly discovered North Arabian heroes stalking everywhere through the pages of the Bible. For instance, he juggled the text of Exodus 3: 13-15. By the most arbitrary sort of sleight-of-hand restoration of an "original" reading, *Jahweh* became *Ashhur.* It is one of the North Arabian gods, who says to Moses: "Tell

[17] Cf. *Encyclopedia Biblica,* vol. iii (New York: Macmillan, 1902), s. v. "Names", col. 3321.

[18] *Notes on the Hebrew Text of Genesis* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1887), p. 376.

[19] *Studia Biblica,* I (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1885), p. 5.

[20] *Grundzüge der hebräischen Akzent- und Vokallehre, mit einem Anhange über die Form des Namens Jahwe.* By Hubert Grimme, Professor of the University of Freiburg, Switzerland, Part V of "Collectanea Friburgensia" (Freiburg, Switzerland: University Bookstore, 1896), pp. 142-148.

the benê Israel, Ashhur has sent me to you". Even the phrase "Jahweh the God of the Hebrews" [21] is not correct:

> The phrase may well surprise us; for if the Israelites had but the other day been made acquainted with Yahweh, how could he at once be called the "God of the Hebrews"? In Ezek. xx. 7 we find a polemic against the devotees of Misrite deities. There may have been a tradition in Ezakiel's time of a special Yahwist propaganda. At any rate, the worshippers of Yahweh can hardly have been more than a sect, as compared with the worshippers of El-Arab, El-Asshur, or El-Yerahme'el.[22]

In the above passage, Ezechiel 20: 7, the prophet refers to God's prohibition of Egyptian idolatry at the time of the Exodus, c. B. C. 1300; he does not indulge in "a polemic against the devotees of Misrite deities", who formed a sect c. B. C. 592. These "devotees of Misrite deities" existed in the fancy of Cheyne, not in the mind of Ezechiel. And it is simply ridiculous to speak of a Jahwistic "sect" or a mere "tradition of a special Yahwistic propaganda" just before the Babylonian Exile, B. C. 586. In the end, Dr. Cheyne descended to worse than the ridiculous. He was pathetically pitiable in his vagaries, wrote *The Reconciliation of Races and Religions*,[23] became a Bahaist, defied the Anglican Church to excommunicate him, and was buried as "Ruhani, Priest of the Prince of Peace" with all the honors of an Anglican canon of the grand old Catholic Cathedral of Rochester.[24]

II. Reasons for that Pronunciation. In favor of the pronunciation *Jáhwéh* are many witnesses. The first scholarly defence thereof was that of Ewald.[25]

1. *Philological Reasons.* It would be quite in keeping with the genius of the Hebrew language that *Jahweh* should be formed as a proper name, derived from the imperfect Qal of *hāwâh*. The form *Jáhwéh*, "He is", would then be analogous to *Já'acōb*, "he supplants", *Jéphtáh*, "he opens", *Já'îr*, "he enlightens", *Jísháq*, "he laughs", etc. And the pronunciation of the verbal form, *Jáhwéh* would be clear.

[21] Exodus 3: 18, 5: 3, 7: 16, 9: 1, 13, 10: 3.

[22] *Traditions and Beliefs of Ancient Israel.* By Thomas Kelly Cheyne (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1907), p. 531.

[23] London: Black, 1914.

[24] We have written up Dr. Cheyne's brand of Christianity in "The Mythic Christ", ECCLESIASTICAL REVIEW, May, 1915, pp. 602 ff.

[25] *Lehrbuch der hebräischen Sprache*, 8th ed. (Göttingen, 1870).

There is no reasonable ground to doubt that God called Himself I AM, and identified that name with HE IS, as the new and special name of the God of Israel. He said:

> I am He, who is I AM. Say to the sons of Israel: I AM sent me to you. . . . HE IS (*Jahweh*), God of your fathers, God of Abraham, God of Isaac, God of Jacob, sent me to you. This is my name forever.[26]

Here *'éhjéh* = *éhwéh*, I AM, the first person imperfect *Qal* of *hāwâh*; *Jáhwéh*, HE IS, is the third person imperfect *Qal* of the same verb. But the same God is *'éhjéh*, I AM, who is *Jáhwéh*, HE IS. Hence the pronunciation of *'éhjéh* determines that of *Jáhwéh*. Philologically *Jáhwéh* is correct.

In this argument, we take for granted the time-honored opinion that Moses spoke Hebrew. He may have used a Babylonian, cuneiform, ideographic script. But there is no reason to assume with Naville that the language of the Mosaic revelations was other than Hebrew.[27]

The same form, *Jáhwéh*, HE IS, which we have interpreted as an imperfect *Qal*, could be the imperfect *Hiph'il* of the verb *hāwâh*; it could mean "He causes to be". In this case, the pronunciation would be the same. Such is the interpretation given to Jahweh by Le Clerc in 1696; and in modern times by Kuenen, Lagarde, Schrader, Baudissin, and Nestle.[28] Our interpretation is that of St. Epiphanius. Jahweh denotes the eternal, everbeing of God. Philo interprets ἐγὼ εἰμὶ ὁ ὤν as meaning, "My nature is to be, not to be said to be".[29]

2. *Patristic Evidence.* The Fathers of the first five centuries are excellent witnesses in favor of the pronunciation *Jáhwéh*, and its connexion with *Jāhû* and *Jâh*.

St. Irenæus, A. D. 181-189, hands down the divine name *Jaoth* with two pronunciations. If *o* is long, it means a "definite measure"; if *o* is short, Jaoth is "he who puts the wicked to flight".[30] The addition of a T-sound to Ἰάω (*Jāhû*), is frequently paralleled in papyri incantations.[31]

[26] Exodus 3: 13-15.

[27] This theory of Naville has been treated by us. Cf. "Old Testament Text", ECCLESIASTICAL REVIEW, February, 1918; and "Studies in Textual Criticism", ECCLESIASTICAL REVIEW, March, 1918.

[28] Ap. Driver, *Studia Biblica*, I, p. 13.

[29] *De Mutatione Nominum*, 2; Cohn-Wendland ed., vol. iii, p. 158.

[30] *Adversus Hæreses*, II. 35 (P. G. 7: 840), extant only in a Latin version.

[31] Cf. Deissmann, *Bible Studies*, Eng. tr. (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1900), p. 327.

St. Clement of Alexandria, A. D. 190-210, witnesses to the most accurate transliteration ἰαουε.[32] The Migne edition [33] gives the reading ἰαού. This is altogether wrong; and is due to a scribal desire to have a word of four letters. The same mistake is found in Dindorf's edition of Clement;[34] and is vehemently scored by Lagarde.[35] The best MSS, and the *Turin Catena to the Pentateuch* bear witness to the readings ἰαουέ, ἰαοῦε, ἰὰ οὐαί, and ἰὰ οὐέ. Of these the first is preferred by Stählin [36] and Deissmann.[37] Any of the four readings preserves the correct pronunciation of Jahweh.

Origen, A. D. 185-253, pronounced the Tetragrammon ἰαή; but retained the archaic Hebrew letters in his Hexaplaric transliteration of the original text.[38] Hence the misunderstanding that St. Jerome notes: "In Græcis libris repertum non intelligentes PIPI legere consueverant".[39] St. Jerome is witness for *Jaho*. Origen also preserves ἰάω and ἰά.

St. Epiphanius, A. D. 374-377, wrote his *Panarion*, or "Medicine Chest", as a stock of panaceas against all existing heresies. In one of his prescriptions, he mentions an heretical sect, which applies to the Deity the names ἰά and ἰαβέ. Clearly these are *Jâh* and *Jáhwéh*. St. Epiphanius interprets ἰά as κύριος; and explains ἰαβε as ὃς ἦν καὶ ἔστι καὶ ἀεὶ ὤν. "So He interpreted it to Moses: Thou shalt say to them, He who is (ὁ ὤν) sent me to you".[40]

Theodoret (died about 457), as we have already seen,[41] bears witness to the Samaritan pronunciation ἰαβε for *Jahweh*; and the Hebrew ἰά for *Jah*.

3. *Profane Evidence.* To these patristic data must be added the witness of profane documents. The Gnostics used ἰάω as the name of a spirit.[42] This name is found on their rings and amulets, as represented by Montfaucon,[43] Kopp,[44] and C. W.

[32] *Stromata*, V, vi, 34; Berlin Patrology, ed. Dr. Otto Stählin, vol. ii, p. 348.
[33] P. G. 9:60. [34] Vol. iii, p. 27.
[35] Ap. Deissmann, *Bible Studies*, p. 321.
[36] Berlin Patrology, loc. cit. [37] *Bible Studies*, p. 321.
[38] Cf. our contribution to ECCLESIASTICAL REVIEW, November, 1919, p. 597.
[39] *Ad Marcellam*, Epist. 136.
[40] *Adversus Hæreses*, I, iii, Hæresis 20 (40); P. G. 41:685.
[41] Cf. above citation from Quæst. 15, *In Exodum*.
[42] Irenæus, *Adv. Hær.*, I, 30, 5.
[43] *L'antiquité expliquée et représentée en figures*, vol. ii (Paris, 1722), p. 353.
[44] *Paleographia Critica*, vols. 3 and 4 (Mannheim, 1817-1829).

King;[45] as well as in many Gnostic inscriptions published by Count Baudissin.[46] Deissmann[47] gives numerous incantations and adjurations, from papyri of the first centuries, which witness to the magical use of most manifold and multiform divine names. Frequent among these are ἰαβέ, ἰά, ἰαή, ἰάω, ἰαονέ, ἰαώτ, ἰαώθ.

III. Is Jahweh of Pagan Origin? From what we have said, it is clear that God chose for Himself the special name of Jahweh; and that the name was entirely new. Many attempts have been vainly made to derive Jahweh from Canaanite, Babylonian, or some other pagan source.

Schrader[48] called attention to the fact that, in an inscription of Sargon, a king of Hamath was called *Ja-u-bi-'i-di*; and, in another inscription, that king's name was *Ilu-bid*. But *Ilu* means "God". Hence *Ja-u* has that meaning. Moreover, the cuneiform writing indicates that part of the word *Ja-u-bi-'i-di* is the name of a god. Then Friederich Delitzsch[49] proposed his theory that *Jahu* was not derived from *Jahweh*, but vice versa. *Jahu* was a general Canaanitic name. From the Babylonian *Ja-u*, came the Semitic *Jahu*. The form *Jahweh* is a modification of *Jahu*. It is so coined as to be a part of the verb *hāwâh*, "to be"; and to teach that Being is God's nature. However, the name *Jahweh* was never popular; and the lesson taught by its coinage is of a late evolution of Jewish theology.

To this theory we reply that Sargon was the Assyrian lord who sacked Samaria, B. C. 721. Between the time of the Exodus, B. C. 1300, and the fall of Samaria, the name *Jahu*, apocopated from *Jahweh*, might have reached Hamath. As to the general Canaanitic use of *Jahu*, that is false. Nor can it be proven that the Hebrew *Jahu* is at all derived from Babylon. Finally, the Biblical narrative shows that *Jahweh* was a very popular name for the God of Israel. It is simply false to say that *Jahu* was the more popular form. The Mesha' stone reads *Jahweh*.

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[45] *The Gnostics and their Remains* (London, 1864).
[46] *Studien zur semitischen Religionsgeschichte* (1876).
[47] *Bible Studies*, pp. 324 ff.
[48] *Die Keilinschriften und das A. T.* (1872), p. 2.
[49] *What was the Site of Paradise?* Eng. tr., 1881.

Criticisms and Notes.

THE CATHOLIC EDUCATIONAL ASSOCIATION BULLETIN. Vol. XVI, No. 2, November, 1919. Report of the Proceedings and Addresses of the Sixteenth Annual Meeting, St. Louis, Mo., June 23, 24, 25 and 26, 1919. Catholic Educational Association, 1651 East Main Street, Columbus, Ohio. Pp. 598.

If one were to take a purely utilitarian view of the work accomplished by the annual conventions of the Catholic Educational Association, there would be no little difficulty in forming a just estimate of the net gain of these meetings. And that for two reasons: first, because we have no means of measuring the profits in question; and second, because they are on the whole intrinsically unmeasurable. The results of intellectual meetings and discussions are for the most part intangible, insensible, unweighable. They lie outside the category of quantity. They are essentially qualities—qualities of mind, soul, spirit. They are therefore to be estimated, spiritually evaluated, not weighed nor measured. The accruing benefits consist more in the deepened vision and the broadened horizons of the educators who take part in these conventions; more, likewise, in the quickened zeal of the teachers than in the recasting of programs, and the reformation of pedagogical methods; although of course something is also gained in both of these latter aspects.

Whatever, on the other hand, may be said on this question of inventory, of intellectual stock-taking, there should be no uncertainty as regards the value of the Report of the Proceedings wherein are comprised the papers read and discussed at the annual sessions. These Reports possess a unique and an independent interest. If the convention of 1919 accomplished nothing more than the issuance of the body of educational studies comprised in the volume at hand, it would have amply justified its existence. The papers have on the whole been prepared by specialists in their respective subjects. They are thoughtful, stimulating, interesting, and exceedingly well written. They cover a wide range of subject matter, touching the educational work both of teacher and pupil at almost every point of view. If spatial limitations did not forbid it, we should like to single out for illustration and commendation the article on how to teach pupils to appreciate good literature. The paper was prepared by Brother Bernardine, F.S.C., and was read at the second meeting of the session of the teachers of the St. Louis Archdiocese.

Few topics could be more important than this. We are all familiar with the reproach that Catholics are not a reading people. Whether

the reproach be just or otherwise, and whether it should be leveled at Catholics alone, does not concern us here. But certain it is that if we would blunt the edge of it there should be a more explicit and an organized endeavor on our part to cultivate in the young the habit of reading good books. The value of Brother Bernardine's paper lies in the practical suggestions it offers as to the means and manner of engendering this habit. It is obvious to say that the carrying out of these suggestions supposes in the teachers themselves both a taste for and a devotion to good reading — qualities by no means generally realized, one has reluctantly to admit. The problem therefore lies deeper. It touches the clergy, to whom it belongs to stimulate and foster as far as possible the good-reading habit in the teachers of our parish schools. Will it be said that the question strikes even a deeper root—how to cultivate the said habit in the clergy themselves? When you come to push it thus far, however, you must carry it still farther; even to the class halls of the preparatory seminary. Then you reach the very initial member of the regressive series, for you come round again to the parish schools, the natural and logical feeders of the preparatory seminary.

Halting at the latter, the inquirer could do nothing better than to consult the paper on the curriculum of our preparatory seminaries and particularly the papers on classical education in these institutions. There are three discussions in the present Report on this subject, each rich in sound theory and wise suggestions. It goes almost without saying that if these suggestions were to be carried out in every preparatory seminary in our land, the problem of teaching pupils how to appreciate good literature and as a consequence how to promote good reading in the homes of our people, and, as a still further consequence, how to stimulate a demand for the good books which would certainly be supplied were such a demand genuinely to exist—each of these problems would emerge from the twilight into the noonday. But — *hoc opus, hic labor est!* At all events, "the work" will be facilitated and "the labor" lightened, let us hope, by the collective wisdom and wide experience enmassed and furnished so generously by our leading educators in the present Report.

COMPENDIUM THEOLOGIAE MORALIS. Editio decima, tertia post Codicem, correctior et auctior. Auctore P. Joanne B. Ferreres, S.J. Duo volumina. Eugenius Subirana, Barcinone 1919

The early call for a third edition since the author brought his well-known Compendium into harmony with the new Code of Canon Law is the best evidence of the recognized worth of the work among theological students. Meanwhile a succinct *Epitome* of the whole

has appeared, of which a first edition of 5,500 copies and a second of 11,000 have been issued.

The particular points of excellence that distinguish the new editions of the Compendium, aside from the new arrangement of the topics treated, are certain themes which were formerly discussed in a cursory and we may say unsettled way. Such are, in the first place, the questions that deal with medical subjects and surgical operations, in which the problem of the administration of the Sacraments enters. The advance made in medical science has of recent years produced an entirely new condition of life, its preservation and the possible amelioration of vital forces and activity, in which are involved considerations of the ministry of baptism and of marriage and the last sacraments. Again there are the numerous difficulties about the rights and duties of capital and labor which have arisen under new aspects of social life and call for definite answers. Hypnotism, spiritism, methods of reform by psychical study, woman's rights, and similar phases of public and private propaganda demand from the theologian a clear definition of principles and a knowledge of scientific facts on which to form his judgment and declare his attitude as a moral leader in the tribunal of penance and in the arena of public social life. Insurance, banking, industrial contracts are phases of human activity that are developing daily new applications of the principles of right and justice. P. Ferreres throws fresh light also on such traditional discussions as those of probabilism. Indeed there is no department of theological and moral science which he does not touch in a way to clear away doubt or difficulty. Special reference is made throughout the work to the conditions, social, legal, and ecclesiastical, of Spain and the South American countries in which Spanish civilization has created a distinct tradition that in some forms separates it from the Saxon or Teutonic races.

DICTIONNAIRE APOLOGETIQUE DE LA FOI CATHOLIQUE, et les Réponses aux Objections tirées des Sciences humaines. Quatrième édition entièrement refondue, sous la direction de A. D'Alès (Professeur à L'Institut Catholique de Paris) avec la collaboration d'un grand nombre de Savants Catholiques. Fascicule XV. Paris: Gabriel Beauchesne. Pp. 642-959.

This, the latest instalment in the present revision of the *monumental* undertaking of which it forms a part, fully sustains the high standard of scholarship which was established by its predecessors. We stress the epithet *monumental* as being the most apt to signify the unique character of this colossal Encyclopedia of Apologetics. The work is indeed a monument *aere perennius* to the learning of its

contributors. It is no less a monument to the Faith in whose honor and defence it is reared.

The palm for broad and critical scholarship was wont not so long ago to be awarded by the superpopular judgment to the *savants* beyond the Rhine; and whilst it must be recognized that without the research, the findings, and the theories—the latter, it is true, not seldom destructive rather than constructive — emanating from that source, monuments such as the one here in question could not be builded, it is equally the case that to the French mind is due the credit for having discriminated, elaborated, perfected, fitted, polished, and adorned the immense wealth of material that has been wrought into the edifice. This has been noticed in the working over of the several sections of the volumes that have previously passed through the crucible of revision.

It is eminently true of the fascicle before us. Here the topics are such as to call for broad and exact knowledge, critical discernment, nice balancing of opinions and theories, and not less precise distinction and definite expression. The mere mention of the subjects will suffice to show this. They are first *Modernism*—begun in the preceding section, and worked out to completion in the number at hand. The basis of this article (from the pen, by the way, of the well-known French philosopher, Mgr. Farges) is of course the famous Encyclical of Pius X, *Pascendi Dominici Gregis*. Professor Farges has elaborated the philosophical and theological teaching of that memorable document in view of recent agnostic and pantheistic movements of science and philosophy — with particular reference likewise to the elusive speculations of Bergson. The article is a veritable treatise (containing more than 75,000 words) on its subject matter.

Of a treatise-like nature is also the immediately following article on *Moses and Joshua*. Those who are acquainted with the intricate problems suggested by the documentary theories that have grown up round the Pentateuch will know what this subject demands from a writer who would do justice to it. When we say that some eighty-odd closely-packed, double-column pages have been assigned to the topic, it will be recognized that there has been no lack of quantitative generosity. The qualitative, the scholarly, the critical, the judicial elements will be best appreciated by the student versed in the matter. Suffice it here to note that, while the traditional, the sanely conservative teaching of the Church, her exegetes and theologians, is set forth and ably defended, nothing in opposition thereto that is worth while noting is passed by unconsidered and unevaluated.

To the other papers in the fascicle, the chief of which are *Monde (Système du)*—cosmical systems; *Monisme; Monuments;* the *Middle Ages;* and lastly *Music* (religious)—the latter article only in part,

the rest is carried over to the next fascicle—like praise *servatis servandis* may and should be accorded.

It is a sign as remarkable as it is encouraging to the subscribers to this revision of the Encyclopedia that the war has not notably impeded the issuance of the successive sections. Now that the deluge of fire has ceased, it may be expected that the work will move forward as speedily as is compatible with an undertaking of such magnitude.

SERMONS ON THE MASS, THE SACRAMENTS, AND THE SACRAMENTALS. By the Rev. Thomas Flynn, C.C. Benziger Brothers, New York. Pp. 408.

SERMONS ON OUR BLESSED LADY. By the Rev. Thomas Flynn, C.C. Benziger Brothers, New York. Pp. 340.

SERMONS IN MINIATURE FOR MEDITATION. By the Rev. Henry E. O'Keefe, C.S.P. The Paulist Press, New York. Pp. 234.

DOMINICALES. DE L'AVENT A LA SAINT-JOSEPH. Tome 1. Par l'Abbé E. Duplessy. Pierre Téqui, Paris. Pp. 500.

Father Flynn is not a novice in the homiletic field. He has given us a series of sermon books which have made his name very popular. The two new volumes of sermons placed to his credit above will help to increase his well-deserved popularity. They deal with a subject matter that constitutes a staple of Catholic pulpit eloquence, and accordingly they will prove helpful to the priest who must frequently treat of these topics. Style and method of treatment fit these discourses admirably for the needs of our average congregations. The apt illustrations and the abundant Scriptural quotations give them a certain charming freshness and convincing force. Every page affords evidence of the author's zeal and conveys some useful lesson.

Father O'Keeffe's book somewhat puzzles the reviewer, as it is not so easy to judge of its value. The sermons contained therein certainly are of very unequal merit, some not being sermons at all and others not being in miniature. The diction frequently is stilted and strained, such as might be expected in an essay, but utterly unsuited to a pulpit discourse. Yet these literary cameos are very thought-provoking and will be relished by those whose tastes run in that direction.

Solid and instructive are the adjectives to be applied to the homilies which we owe to the pen and the genius of the Abbé Duplessy. They are constructed on familiar lines and embody the ideals set forth by Benedict XV in his Encyclical Letter on the office of preach-

ing. We do not find in this volume ready and finished sermons, but rich lodes of precious ore that can be easily worked. C. B.

THE REFORMATION. By the Rev. Hugh P. Smyth. Extension Press, 223 West Jackson Boulevard, Chicago. 1919. Pp. 241.

There are certain handy books which every Catholic young man and woman, especially those who are attending non-Catholic colleges, ought to be familiar with. They are, in the first place, *The Question Box*, a veritable pocket encyclopedia of religious knowledge. In the second place *The Catholic's Ready Answer*, by Father Hull, S.J., a book to widen out the inquirer's horizon over the newer difficulties, scientific and social. The third place might be given to Mr. Humphrey Desmond's *Mooted Questions of History*, a repository of popular objections drawn from the domain of history, for the solution of which objections non-Catholic authors alone are enlisted. The fourth place could be assigned to Charles Lummis's *The Spanish Pioneers*. Mr. Lummis is not a Catholic, but, like the late Mr. Roosevelt, he believes in giving every man a square deal. This the Spanish Conquerors, including the heroes of the Cross, seldom or never get from English historians, not even from the American Prescott. The author of *The Spanish Pioneers* does not whitewash the *conquistadores*, but he does prove that they had their redeeming qualities and that their characters were not as black as they have been painted by their cold-blooded enemies of the North lands.

To the foregoing quartet of historical *vade mecums* should now be added the book before us on *The Reformation*. Catholic students are of course already provided with some excellent helps on this subject. Besides the voluminous works of Grisar, Denifle, Pastor, Alzog, and others, there are the classic Cobbett, the readable though somewhat antiquated *The Protestant Reformation* by Archbishop Spalding, the popular exposés by Bishop Stang, Mgr. Hare, Père Lagrange, and the rest. The present volume deserves a place all to itself. It is not an erudite treatise or exposition. It is a collection of popular, plain, pointed, practical lectures and brief essays on the Reformation or the Revolution, as scholars are now wont to name it.

After analyzing the causes which have recently become better known than ever before to have brought about the revolt of Luther, Father Smyth goes on to show by what means and methods the religious upheaval was communicated throughout Germany and into Switzerland, France, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, the Netherlands; and how it leaped the channel to devastate England, Scotland, Ireland. He tells briefly of the counter—the Catholic—Reformation and he gives in short the origin and the characteristic tenets of the

leading sects that have embodied the various doctrines and tendencies of Protestantism — the Baptists, Congregationalists, and the others. Some of the consequences of the Reformation are next summed up, the chief characteristics of Protestantism delineated, and its present outlook is forecast. A brief word is also said on Anglican Orders. The volume closes with a chapter on the present prospects of Catholicism.

The book originally grew out of a course of lectures prepared to meet the needs of students who in the author's own locality were under the instruction of teachers wont to misrepresent the facts of history regarding the subject in question. Needless to say, it is not only the youth of Evanston, Illinois, that are obliged to listen to men and women who neither know nor care to know the truth concerning the origin and propagation of the Reformation. Nor is it only in the Middle West that the college and the high school professor feels no call to question the stories which for four hundred years English Protestantism has made do duty for history. Truth is slow in overtaking error. One reason of its tardiness in this matter is the fact that the errors conveyed through the old stories are unsuspected by the teachers who rehearse them to their classes. Perhaps it is idle to expect that a truth-teller like the present volume shall find a place in every public school and college library—although the fact that the writer quotes almost exclusively Protestant authorities might seem to make such an expectation less chimerical; but it ought not to be too much to hope that it will be read and better still be in the individual possession of every Catholic student. It is, of course, only by the coöperation of the clergy that such a hope can be realized. *Fiat! fiat!*

A few lapses of the type might be set right in the new edition, which ought to be soon in demand. For instance, the "u" in "Tübingen" (p. 31) ought to be dotted so as to ward off the punsters; "S" should be "Z" in the Swiss Reformer's name at page 213; and "say" should be "says" at page 32, while not even for the sake of "peace" would one care to sacrifice a "piece" of one's mind! (p. 162).

SAINTE CATHERINE DE SIENNE. Sa Vie, sa Mort et ses Miracles. D'après un manuscrit Italien du XV siècle de Stephane Maconi, traduction du texte Latin de Thomas Caffarini. Traduit avec une Introduction et des Notes par Madeleine et Robert Havard de la Montagne. Deuxième édition. Libraire Académique, Perrin et Cie., Paris. Pp. xviii, 301.

Blessed Raymund of Capua, of the order of Friars Preacher, and

confessor at Siena of St. Katharine Benincasca, wrote a life of his spiritual daughter which is the source of all the biographies hitherto published of that remarkable woman. The author died in 1399 at the Dominican Convent in Nuremberg, Germany. St. Katharine died during the following year. Shortly after that a second biography was penned in Latin by Fr. Thomas Caffarini, who had likewise known the saint from intimate association. He added some details of her last years not comprised in Raymund's account. This Life was immediately translated into Italian by a friend of his, Stephane Maconi, who also knew the saint and who owed his vocation in the Carthusian order to the immediate direction of St. Katharine on her deathbed. He had been active in writing at her dictation while still in the world, owing to a deep attachment that he had conceived on the occasion of her intervention which ended a long-standing feud between his family at Siena and the noble Rinaldini and Tolomei factions. It is from Maconi's Italian version that the present French translation is made. The original MS. is in the communal library of Siena and was written sometime before 1422. About fifty years ago it was edited by Grotanelli, but no copies of that edition are obtainable. Students of the history of the saint and her times will glean some fresh light from the publication, though in the main it repeats the story as told by Raymund of Capua, supplemented from St. Katharine's Dialogues and Letters, which have a classical value not only for students of the original pure Tuscan language in which they were written, but for those interested in ascetic and mystic theology.

THE MODERN WORLD: From Charlemagne to the Present Time. With a Preliminary Survey of Ancient Times. By the Rev. Francis S. Betten, S.J., and the Rev. Alfred Kaufmann, S.J. Boston: Allyn and Bacon. 1919. Pp. 429.

There is at first sight an awkward discrepancy between the program heralded on the title-page of this book and the actual performance between the covers. At the front it is announced that the drama shall extend to "the present time"; in the end the play breaks off in the second act, with the termination of the Thirty Years War (1618-1648). Almost three centuries remain to be enacted. Perhaps these have been reserved for a future volume or a section to be added on to the present. If so, some notification of the prospective performance should have been given us, the uninitiated spectators.

Waiving this temporary disappointment, however, the onlooker, the reader, will have nothing but praise for what he sees actually carried out. Material, execution and scenery are all alike instructive, in-

teresting, delightful. Modern history is preluded with a brief, though fairly comprehensive tableau of the ancient times. Enough is given to show the organic unity of human history; the continuity of the modern with the ancient times. The Word Made Flesh is presented as the pivot of the unity, the link in the continuity, while His abiding amongst men is carried forward by Christianity. Largely therefore the interrelations between the Church and the State—Rome first and then the New Nations—supply the materials for the history of civilized humanity onward to the Revolution in the sixteenth century. Hence the main division of the book before us: 1. Era of Religious Unity, 2. Era of Disrupted Unity. Under the first we have the origin of the European States, their subsequent development; feudalism; the Church—the Papacy; the age of the Crusades with its vigorous florescence of religious, civil, industrial, intellectual, and artistic organizations and life. Then comes the fermentation stage, when the new forces blending with the vigorous energies of pagan ideals revived and, by their sensuous accompaniments, prepared the nations through the Renaissance for the explosion in the Revolution commonly called the Reformation. The lines here suggested are filled in and expanded with adequate fullness in the present manual. The book is intended in the first place for service in the class hall. For this purpose it is admirably suited. Its clear-cut divisions and varied typography, its lucid narrative, in which clarity is never sacrificed to brevity nor generalities made to do duty for definite information; its apparatus of splendid maps and fine illustrations; its bibliographical annotations — short but sufficiently full; its suggestions for didactic exercises—these features make of the work a model text book, and on the other hand an adaptation which, so natural is the easy flow of its style, in no wise unsuits it for the purpose of the general reader who desires to get an interesting survey of medieval or in part modern European history.

Attention might be called to a typographical error on the map at page 16, where *Emessa* should read *Edessa;* also on the map at page 57, where *Clainvaux* should be *Clairvaux*. Finally, Plato's name ought to appear among the great philosophers of Greece mentioned on page 14.

OUT TO WIN. By the Rev. Joseph P. Conroy, S.J., author of "Talks to Parents", etc. New York, Benziger Brothers. 1919. Pp. 181.

The art of addressing youths—boys, say, from fifteen onward—is only less rare than the ability to write interestingly for children. The latter faculty is mostly inborn. It is almost an instinct, a native endowment, with some superadded habit cultivated by practice. The

knack of captivating and holding the budding young man, while partly instinctive and native, is more the growth of experience, of converse with boys, observation, and much practice. Amongst the relatively few writers who possess this gift or art Father Conroy deserves honorable distinction. He knows boys, youths, young men. He has insight into their consciousness; he knows how they feel, how they think, and especially how they talk. Perhaps experience of the latter specialty of youth is the most valuable asset for one who would make the writing of this sort of literature a business or profession. There must be force, snap, directness, above all humor, dashes of wit, a liberal sprinkling of sarcasm, repartee, in the style of one who would engage the attention of, say, a high school or a college lad. Now all these qualities, and others that are subtile, elusive, nameless, though silently effective because felt rather than weighed and measured, are exhaled from the pages of *Out to Win*.

The book is not a story. We wish it were. It is a collection of talks to boys who have graduated from knickerbockers, have learned the art of parting their hair in the middle and of tenderly coaxing the early down on their upper lip. If these talks had been woven into the form of a story, they would have gained, we think, a wider and a more attentive hearing. That the author is gifted with the art of story-telling is manifest from the clever, off-hand sketches of the sort of book upon which boys are wont to feed. It may not be amiss to transfer one of these "skits" to the present sober pages. Possibly the reader may recognize in it a transcript of his own private experience. When a boy has outgrown the "Ruddy-faced Robert" of the *Wonderful Waif* series of juveniles, he comes upon the detective story—a higher type of book of course. None of your mushy sentimentality here. There intellectuality, keen thought, the wisdom of the lofty brow.

PERSONS OF THE BOOK. — *The Detective:* penetrating, blue-gray eyes; has to have these for the steely glitter constantly needed in his business; clean shaven; thin, penetrating features — grip of iron — muscles like whip-cords — shoots through either coat pocket; talks in monosyllables, each worth a gold mine. Cool. Seventy-six below zero, with the whole town around him boiling over with terrific excitement. Story opens with a corpse discovered, and not a clew to the murder but a solitary hatpin piercing the temple of the victim. No, she couldn't have put it there by mistake, for her own hatpin is still in the hat on her head. Burlap Domes, the detective, utters the single syllable, "Hmm!"

The Heroine: golden hair and far-away blue eyes. She looks very lovely in mourning, as she taps her tiny foot nervously on the velvet carpet and asks the searching final question, "Who can have done the dastardly deed?" Burlap, we feel sure, knows at this very moment, but he won't tell. He is weaving his terrible web slowly but surely around the criminals. The heroine's chief asset is the piercing scream, which can be heard for miles, and which helps Burlap considerably, as he can locate the trouble through it. Said scream is always caused by—

The Villain: a desperate "low-brow," yet with a kind of fascination about him, due principally to his weird, mocking laugh. He is discovered at the last to be in the pay of a high-society person who wishes to destroy the lovely heroine and get the title to her property.

The Detective's Assistant: generally, a youth, ignorant of danger, but sharp as a steel trap, and living, apparently, upon approving nods from Burlap. He leads a gay life, doing the most insane things, seemingly. Whistles at a lamp-post; rides with a peddler; lounges on the ferry; disguises himself as a fortune-teller; hiding in a cellar, he discovers the fatal ink-spot under the carpet, and Burlap tells him where to go to get the missing papers. The hatpin still is the big clew, however. The faint odor clinging to its head is, Burlap tells us in the denouement, distinctly Arabian. Hence his sudden and fearful struggle with, and final arrest of Hasheesh, the sword-swallower, the last person in the world any one would suspect of hatpins.

These stories in every shape, from the paper novel to the gilt-topped volume at one-fifty. What is your average on these? [The question is put to boys, not to fathers!]

Next comes the Character Novel. This is a step higher. Here we have not merely sentiment alone, or intellect alone, but the whole soul combed out before us as with a fine comb, and every quiver portrayed. One is really educated on getting this far. For we are now among the "best sellers".

And so on. The foregoing will suffice to show that Father Conroy could write a story (if he had a mind to), even a detective story à la Sherlock Holmes. This he has not elected to do. What he has done is the next best thing. He has talked to boys in a way to make them sit up and listen, in a way that will help them to win out in the race of life.

Literary Chat.

A second edition of the *Epitome Compendii Theologiae Moralis* by P. John B. Ferreres, S.J., brings this excellent little handbook up to date with regard to the decisions of the S. Congregation interpreting the new Code of Canon Law. Whilst particular attention is given to the legislation in Spanish-speaking countries, the general value of this handy pocket theology is not thereby impaired. It is fashioned after the plan of the equally serviceable epitome of theological principles and definitions issued some years ago by the American theologian Father Telch, of the Columbus Diocese, who made P. Noldin's text-book his basis. The present summary by P. Ferreres is based upon his own larger Manual, and its references are chiefly to the latter. He is an acute and safe theologian. (Eug. Subirana, Barcelona.)

Father Hull's study of the historical account of the *Spanish Armada* is not without significance in these days when misrepresentations of the Pope as a spiritual ruler seeking to establish his power through the aid of armed nations are being constantly revived by a press hostile to Catholicity. The author shows that it was against the intrigues and aggression of English statesmen under Elizabeth that the Pope raised his voice on behalf of Spain. Protestant tradition has made the event a point of accusation against the Pontiff, so as to charge him with religious intolerance, ambition and animosity, whereas, so far as religion was concerned in the question, it was Elizabeth who fostered the intolerance and ambition of England after she had first executed Mary Queen of Scots. Philip II was fully justified in his attack, though he was defeated. The whole question presents an interesting and instructive chapter of sidelights to English his-

tory, and the editor of the Bombay *Examiner* writes history as it should be written, without bias.

Theological students of Greek will be glad to avail themselves of a new monthly publication—Ἡ ΚΑΙΝΗ ΔΙΔΑΧΗ—issued under the editorial supervision of the Metropolitan of Athens. Its name, *The New Teaching*, is suggested by the passage from the Acts (17: 19-23): "Possumus scire quae est haec nova quae a te dicitur doctrina—Nova enim infers quaedam auribus nostris—Quod ergo ignorantes colitis hoc ego annuntio vobis". The first issue contains, besides the introductory editorial, an historical orientation concerning the Greek Church by the Archimandrite Chrysostom A. Papadopoulos. Professor Gregory Papamichael, of the University, discusses the teaching of apologetics in view of modern infidelity. A third paper is a canonical study of Sacramental Unction by Constant Duobouniotos, followed by an essay on Socialism in the light of the Gospel. There are departments of criticism of books and brief summaries of general ecclesiastical information. The magazine may be readily obtained through any accredited importer of books from the "Typos" Publishing Office, Athens, Greece.

The most appropriate present for all occasions is a book, and if it is a book by Isabel C. Clarke, it will be sure to be appreciated and to do much good. It may not be the main purpose of a novel to instruct and to edify, but if it does these things without any loss to its purely artistic qualities, this accidental circumstance will only enhance its value. And for this double reason Miss Clarke's novels deserve our attention; they are delightfully written stories of undoubtful esthetical merit and they are morally sound and inspiring.

Eunice, her latest novel, shows the familiar earmarks which have created for the author a devoted and faithful clientèle. Fine psychological analysis, light and bright dialogue, vivid characterization, splendid descriptions, a touch of humor, swift action, and an interesting denouement make this story eminently readable and absorbingly interesting. In fact, the wonder is that the author can weave such a charming piece of fiction out of such slender and commonplace materials. If anything, this gives evidence of her remarkable plastic and creative power.

Miss Clarke is particularly happy in the portrayal of her heroines. Eunice is a most lovable character. From a wilful girl we see her grow into the full stature of pure and endearing womanhood. It is suffering and trials that mold her in this way. And though the reader's sympathy will be mainly focused on the central figure, the other actors are not unworthy of his attention. All in all, Miss Clarke has given us another charming and instructive novel. In these days it may not be out of place to mention the splendid material get-up of the book which does honor to the firm of Benziger Brothers.

L'Instruction obligatoire, by the Rev. P. Hermas Lalande, S.J., is a very instructive volume dealing with an ever-recurring problem. It seems that each generation has to renew the fight for its inalienable rights against the encroachments of the government. Clearer and clearer these rights are thus stated in the course of time. In the work before us we have a very exact and lucid formulation of the fundamental rights of the family and the Church in the important matter of education. Though the author is chiefly concerned with local conditions of Canada, there is much that we can learn from his scholarly and moderate exposition, aptly illustrated by numerous quotations from classical authorities and historical references. (Montreal, Imprimerie du Messager.)

A very thorny question, bristling with difficulties, is that of the relation of the Church to the Civil government. *Le Gouvernement de l'Eglise*, by the Rev. P. Gustave Neyron, S.J., is wrestling with this intricate problem. The outstanding feature of the book is the spirit of fairness in which the author approaches the subject. Though conservative, he makes no extravagant claims for either side, but tries to balance the mutual rights and duties in a conciliatory way. To some

the Church will always appear intransigent, and no amount of reasoning can convince them that she may not surrender her God-given privileges at the bidding of princes or peoples intoxicated by the possession of power. The chapter on centralization will prove especially timely and instructive. The book gives evidence of extensive reading and independent thinking. (Paris, Gabriel Beauchesne.)

Never too much can be said and written about the sublime mystery of our altars. We welcome everyone who shall make us see better and appreciate more the glories of the Eucharistic God. Abbé Jean Ramel sings the praises of the veiled God in a most devout manner which will arouse fond echoes in every reader. *La Sainte Eucharistie* (Paris, P. Téqui) breathes the spirit of genuine devotion and cannot but kindle the beautiful flame of eucharistic love in others. The book is a popular treatise on the Holy Eucharist written in a style that makes it serviceable both to the clergy and the laity. Though popular, it is very thorough and based on a familiar acquaintance with patristic and ascetical literature.

In the French language there is no dearth of useful manuals of Apologetics. A new one, from the pen of the Canon Leon Duflot, just reaches us. It possesses certain features that commend it to our attention, such as lucidity of diction and clearness of treatment. As collateral reading it will be very helpful to the student of Theology, the more so as it follows the well-tried methods of the past. The book is the mature fruit of many years of teaching and shows a thorough grasp of the subject and familiarity with all its phases. The title of the volume is *Apologétique Chrétienne: La Revélation, L'Eglise;* and the publishers are the well-known firm of P. Téqui, Paris.

A correspondent, writing concerning the contents of the November number, calls attention appreciatively to the cosmopolitan array of the contributors thereto, and offers the suggestion that note might well be made here of this internationalism of the REVIEW. Notwithstanding this assembly of writers from various countries all over the world, he says, the whole number is devoted to themes that are thoroughly and exclusively ecclesiastical. The priest and his special interests, pastoral and clerical, are kept directly and constantly in mind throughout the entire program.

Besides the contributors from several States of the Union — Illinois, Texas, Maryland, Ohio, Pennsylvania, New York, Massachusetts — there are representatives from Canada, England, Ireland, Serbia, and China in this single number.

A phenomenon of a somewhat kindred character is observable in the October issue, as one scans the contents page and notes the many members of the regular clergy whose pens have collaborated in the furnishing of the number. There the reader meets Benedictine and Dominican, Franciscan and Jesuit, Premonstratensian and Paulist, a Father of the Congregation of the Most Precious Blood and a Missionary of the Sacred Heart; and side by side with these a goodly group of representatives of the diocesan clergy from far and near.

A new book by Father Finn and another by Mrs. Waggaman will also facilitate the selection of boys' books. *Facing Danger* is the title of the former; *The Finding of Tony* that of the latter (both issued by Benziger Brothers). Jose Maria, Joe for short, the boy-hero of the one, is able "to face danger", because he has Tom Playfair by his side. Tom is no longer a school boy, but a school man — a scholastic—and withal a splendid type of youth whom Joe loves and "adores". The love, if not the adoration, is mutual and speaks of victories over thrilling and gripping dangers by land and sea, in city and in wilderness. Boys who admired Tom on the ball field will admire him yet more in *Facing Danger*. The book is a genuine boy's book. Real boys, young and old, will like it and be the better for reading it.

The same is true of *The Finding of Tony*. Tony is a little street Arab—an Italian boy, who, brought up in

ignorance of his ancestral faith, returns to the fold through the influence of a gentle lad for whom in the hour of sore need Tony makes heroic sacrifice. It is a sweet story, in which pathos is happily blended with the human and the action which all true boys love and need.

Attention might here be called to two books of interest to priests whose eyes are wide open to the dangers into which so many people are just now rushing by engaging in or tampering with spiritistic practices. One is *The New Black Magic* by Mr. J. Godfrey Raupert (The Devin-Adair Co., N. Y.). The other is *Experiments in Psychical Science* by Professor W. J. Crawford (Dutton & Co., N. Y.). Each of these authors is a well-known authority on spiritism. Needless to say, the principles from which they proceed and the conclusions at which they arrive differ *toto coelo*. Both works will receive adequate review in our next number.

Those who are familiar with a small volume of talks to children by Josephine Van Dyke Brownson entitled *To the Heart of the Child* will welcome right gladly *Catholic Bible Stories* (pp. 239) from the same gifted pen. The author, as we have more than once observed in these pages, holds the key to the child's mind and heart, and she uses it to the best advantage and to the joy of the little ones in these wonderful tales from the Old and the New Testament in which she so happily adapts the sacred events to the child's capacities and aspirations. The book is attractively made and illustrated with twenty-eight photogravures of the master paintings. (Chicago, The Extension Press.)

We are obliged to hold over for more detailed notice, the *Life-Story of St. Joan of Arc* (pp. 360, Benziger Bros., N. Y.) by Fr. Denis Lynch, S.J. The wonderful story of the saintly heroine is told with reference to the latest documents and in a style that will be sure to hold the attention and win the admiration of youth for the splendid ideal of self-sacrifice and devotion embodied in the person and career of *La Pucelle*.

Wandering in the Orient, by Albert M. Reese (Chicago, The Open Court Pub. Co.), is a slender volume of some four-score pages — handsomely made and illustrated with sixty-six photographs—wherein the author gives a sketch of a trip which he made to the Philippines, Singapore, China (Hongkong and Canton) and Honolulu. The narrative is bright and chatty, and the book makes an attractive holiday token.

Amongst the book reviews in the present number some account is given of the latest Annual Report of the Catholic Educational Association. We wish we had space to speak in detail of the Reports of the Diocesan Superintendents of our Parish Schools. The recent Reports from the diocese of Pittsburgh and of Newark are at hand and each is a rich repository not only of encouraging, and in some instances critically analyzed, statistics, but also of wise and practical suggestions serviceable alike for the teachers and the rectors. Both of the Reports before us comment on the High School problem—the necessity of such an institution to perfect the diocesan system; and what the respective Superintendents observe and suggest, each in view of his own local conditions, is well worth reading and heeding.

Number Six of the Reconstruction Pamphlets issued by the N. C. W. C. is, as indeed have been all its predecessors in the series, a most important and timely document. The mere mention of its title, *The Fundamentals of Citizenship*, suffices to show this. The booklet makes plain what Democracy means, and what is demanded of American citizens to realize the truly Democratic ideal in this country. The pamphlet likewise comprises the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States. Copies of it may be had by applying to the N. C. W. C., Washington, D. C.

If the specimen *Praefatio* for the *Missae Defunctorum*, published by the Ratisbon firm of Pustet, is any indication of what their new missal is to be in the matter of typography, paper, illumination, we may congratulate ourselves that the war has spared the fine old Bavarian establishment with its liturgical book industry.

Books Received

THEOLOGICAL AND DEVOTIONAL.

MANNA OF THE SOUL. A Little Book of Prayer for Men and Women. Compiled by the Rev. F. X. Lasance, author of *My Prayer-Book*, etc. Benziger Brothers, New York, Cincinnati, Chicago. 1918. Pp. 359. Prices: thin edition, $1.00 to $5.00; thin with Epistles and Gospels, $1.25 to $4.75; vest pocket, $0.40 to $4.75; large type, $1.25 to $5.00.

CATHOLIC BIBLE STORIES FROM THE OLD AND NEW TESTAMENTS. By Josephine Van Dyke Brownson, author of *To the Heart of the Child*. Extension Press, 223 W. Jackson Blvd., Chicago. 1919. Pp. 232. Price, $1.25.

A PRIMER OF OLD TESTAMENT HISTORY. By the Rev. Francis E. Gigot, D.D., Professor of Sacred Scripture, St. Joseph Seminary, Dunwoodie, N. Y. (*Biblical Primers.*) Paulist Press, New York. 1919. Pp. vi—106. Price, $0.60; $0.70 *postpaid.*

DIVINE CHARITY: ITS NATURE AND NECESSITY. Presented to the Theological Faculty of St. Patrick's College, Maynooth, as a thesis for the Degree of Doctor. By the Rev. Patrick O'Neill. M. H. Gill & Son, Ltd., Dublin. 1918. Pp. viii—136. Price, 4/– *net.*

THE REFORMATION. By the Rev. Hugh P. Smyth. Extension Press, Chicago. 1919. Pp. 241. Price, $1.25.

LE DIEU VIVANT. La Révélation de la Sainte Trinité dans la Nouveau Testament. Par Jules Lebreton, Professeur d'Histoire des Origines Chrétiennes a l'Institut Catholique de Paris. Gabriel Beauchesne, Paris. 1919. Pp. 181. Prix, 3 *fr.* 75; 4 *fr. franco* (majoration comprise).

LE PLUS PARFAIT ou Des Voies Intérieures la plus glorifiante pour Dieu et la plus sanctifiante pour l'âme. Par le R. P. Alexandre Piny, Docteur en Théologie, de l'Ordre des FF. Prêcheurs, de la Province de Provence, affilié au Grand Couvent et Collège de Saint Jacques. Nouvelle édition par le R. P. Pierre Noel, O.P., Maître en Théologie. Pierre Téqui, Paris. 1919. Pp. xxi—340. Prix, 2 fr. 50 (majoration temporaire: 30%).

LE GOUVERNEMENT DE L'ÉGLISE. Par R. P. Gustave Neyron, S.J. Gabriel Beauchesne, Paris. 1919. Pp. viii—347. Prix, 6 *fr. net.*

PHILOSOPHICAL.

EXPERIMENTS IN PSYCHICAL SCIENCE. Levitation, Contact, and the Direct Voice. By W. J. Crawford, D.Sc., Lecturer in Mechanical Engineering, the Municipal Technical Institute, Belfast; Extra-Mural Lecturer in Mechanical Engineering, Queen's University of Belfast; author of *The Reality of Psychic Phenomena*, etc. E. P. Dutton & Co., New York. 1919. Pp. ix—201. Price, $2.00 *net.*

A CATHOLIC SOCIAL PLATFORM. By the Rev. Joseph Husslein, S.J., Ph.D., Associate Editor of *America*, Lecturer, Fordham University School of Sociology. P. J. Kenedy & Sons, New York. 1919. Pp. 16. Price, $2.50 a hundred.

BOLSHEVISM: ITS CURE. By David Goldstein and Martha Moore Avery. Boston School of Political Economy, 468 Massachusetts Ave., Boston. 1919. Pp. x—414. Price, $1.50.

HISTORICAL.

THE MODERN WORLD. Part I: From Charlemagne to the Present Time. With a Preliminary Survey of Ancient Times. By the Rev. Francis S. Betten, S.J., and the Rev. Alfred Kaufmann, S.J. Allyn & Bacon, Boston, New York, Chicago, Atlanta, San Francisco. 1919. Pp. xiii—429. Price, $1.40.

A SCHOOL HISTORY OF THE GREAT WAR. By Albert E. McKinley, Ph.D., Professor of History, University of Pennsylvania, Charles A. Coulomb, Ph. D., District Superintendent of Schools, Philadelphia, and Armand J. Gerson, Ph.D., District Superintendent of Schools, Philadelphia. American Book Co., New York, Cincinnati, Chicago, Boston, Atlanta. 1918. Pp. 192. Price, $0.60.

L'ANAPHORE APOSTOLIQUE ET SES TÉMOINS. Par Dom Paul Cagin, Moine Bénédictin de l'Abbaye de Solesmes. P. Lethielleux, Paris. 1919. Pp. xii—383.

MISCELLANEOUS.

FACING DANGER. By Francis J. Finn, S.J. Benziger Brothers, New York. Cincinnati, Chicago. 1919. Pp. 197. Price, $1.25.

WANDERINGS IN THE ORIENT. By Albert M. Reese. With 66 illustrations from photographs. Open Court Publishing Co., Chicago and London. 1919. Pp. 81. Price, $1.00.

EUNICE. A Novel. By Isabel C. Clarke. Benziger Bros., New York, Cincinnati, Chicago. 1919. Pp. 477. Price, $1.75; $1.90 *postpaid.*

THE FINDING OF TONY. By Mary T. Waggaman, author of *Shipmates, Captain Ted, The Queen's Promise,* etc. Benziger Bros., New York, Cincinnati, Chicago. 1919. Pp. 146. Price, $1.25 *net.*

HELD IN THE EVERGLADES. By the Rev. Henry S. Spalding, S.J. Benziger Bros., New York, Cincinnati, Chicago. 1919. Pp. 234. Price, $1.25 *postpaid.*

MODEL ENGLISH. Book I. The Qualities of Style. By Francis P. Donnelly, S.J., Professor of English at Holy Cross College, Worcester, Mass. Allyn & Bacon, Boston, New York, Chicago, Atlanta, San Francisco. 1919. Pp. 302. Price, $1.20.

OUT TO WIN. By the Rev. Joseph P. Conroy, S.J., author of *Talks to Parents,* etc. Benziger Bros., New York, Cincinnati, Chicago. 1919. Pp. 181. Price, $1.25; $1.40 *postpaid.*

ST. MICHAEL'S ALMANAC. 1920. Published for the benefit of the Mission houses and foreign missions of the Society of the Divine Word. Vol. XXII. Mission Press of the Society of the Divine Word, Techny, Ill. Pp. 96. Price, $0.25.

THE DEEP HEART. By Isabel C. Clarke. Benziger Bros., New York, Cincinnati, Chicago. 1919. Pp. 382. Price, $1.50; $1.65 *postpaid.*

POEMS. By Theodore Maynard. With an Introduction by G. K. Chesterton. Frederick A. Stokes Co., New York. 1919. Pp. xvi—169. Price, $1.35 *net.*

READING CIRCLES AND STUDY CLUBS. Catalogue of Authors and Titles. Catholic Truth Society of Canada, Inc., Toronto. Pp. 51. Price, $0.02 *postpaid.*

THEOLOGIA MORALIS secundum Doctrinam S. Alfonsi de Ligorio Doctoris Ecclesiae. Auctore Jos. Aertnys, C.SS.R., S. Theologiae Moralis in Collegio Wittemiensi olim Professore. Editio nona quam recognitam atque auctam ad Codicem Juris Canonici accommodavit C. A. Damen, C.SS.R., Juris Can. Doct. et Theol. Mor. Prof. Tomus II. Typis M. Alberts Filii, Galopiae. 1918. Pp. 532.

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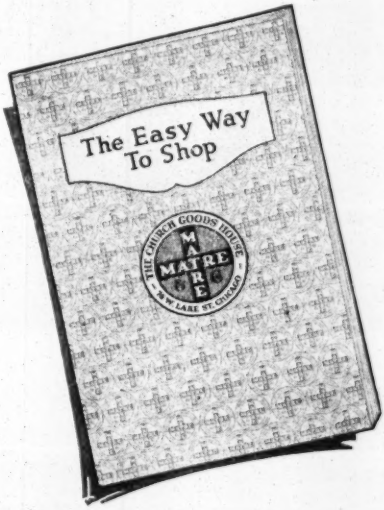

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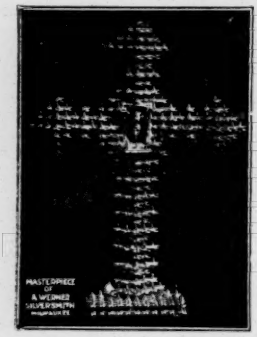

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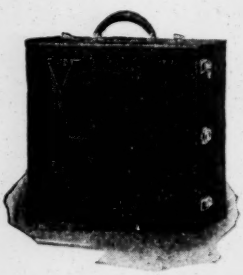

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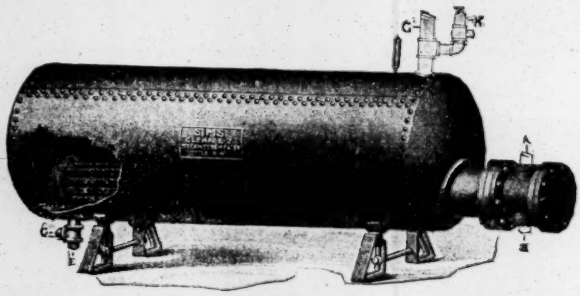

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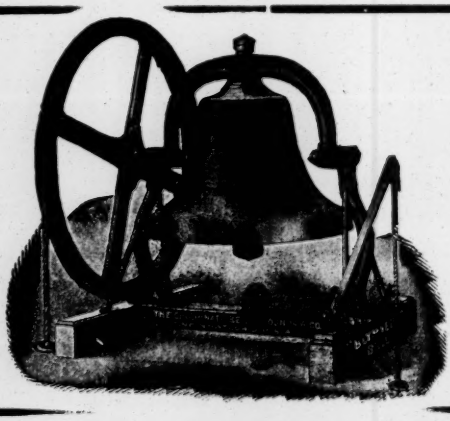

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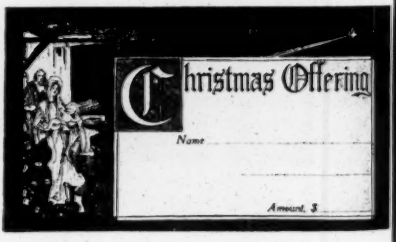

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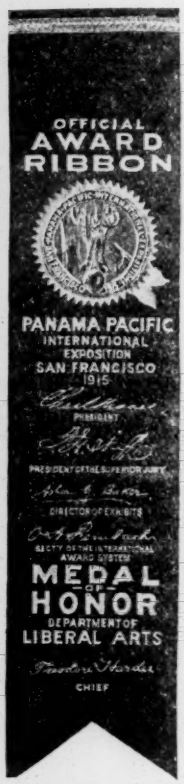

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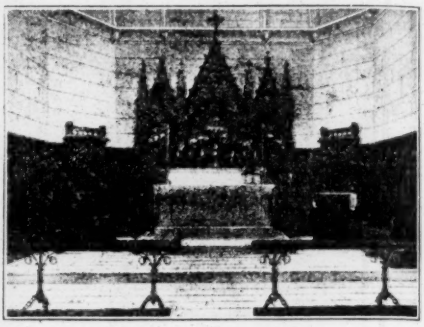

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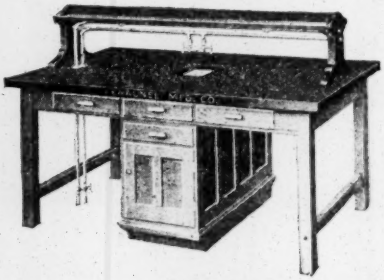

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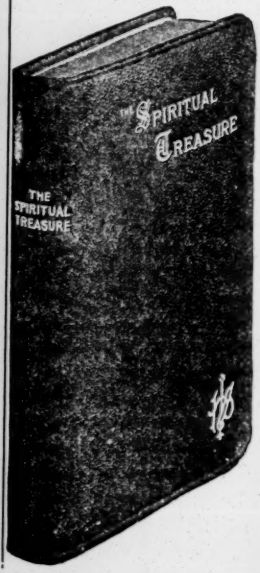

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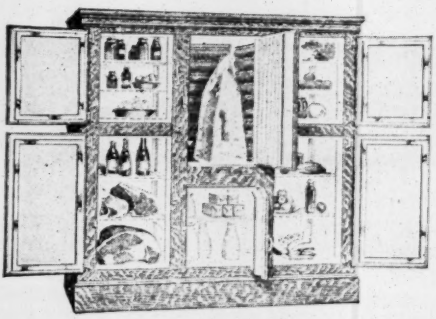

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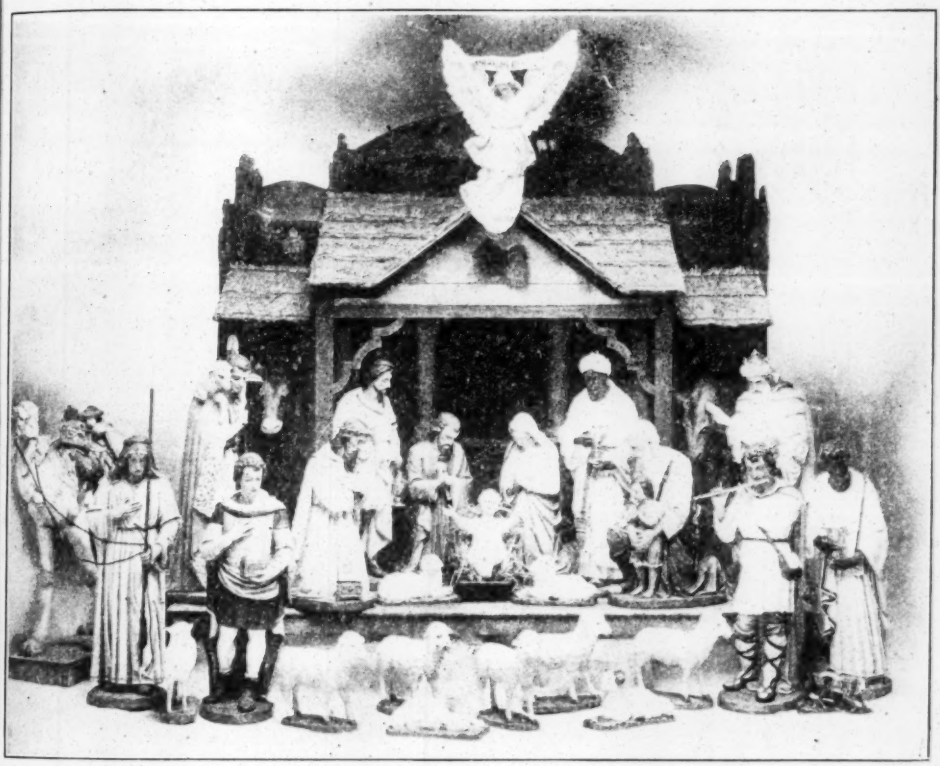

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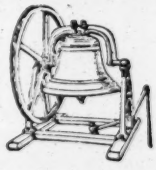

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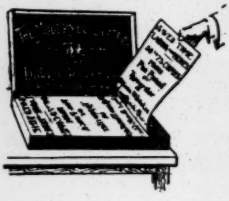

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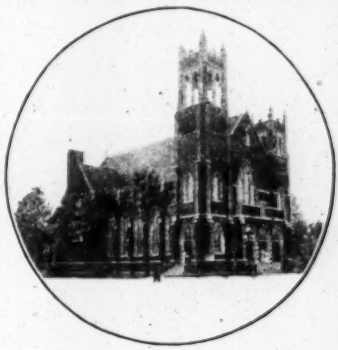

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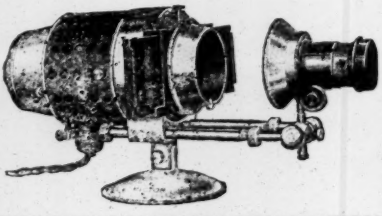

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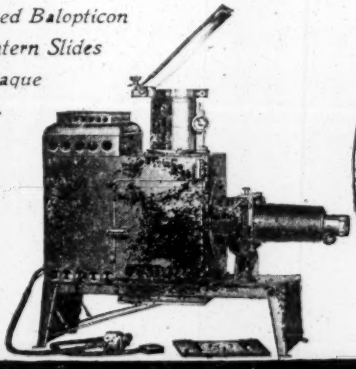

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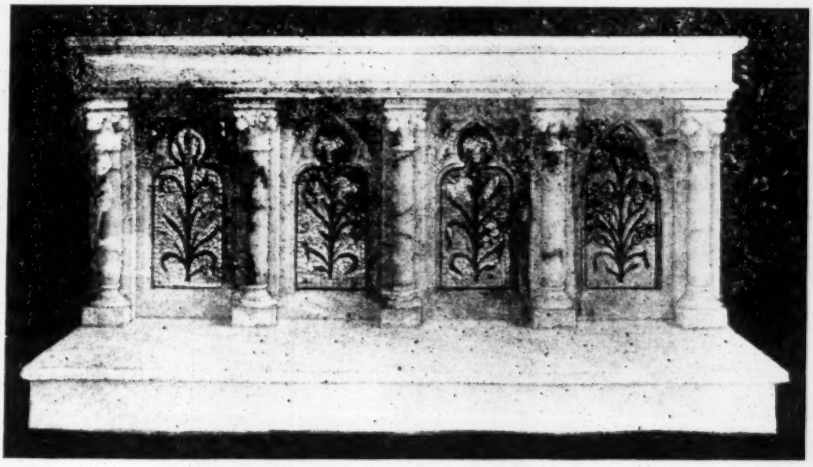

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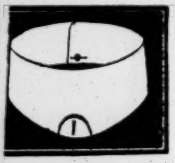

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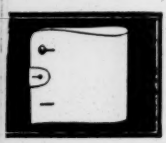

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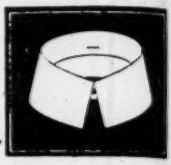

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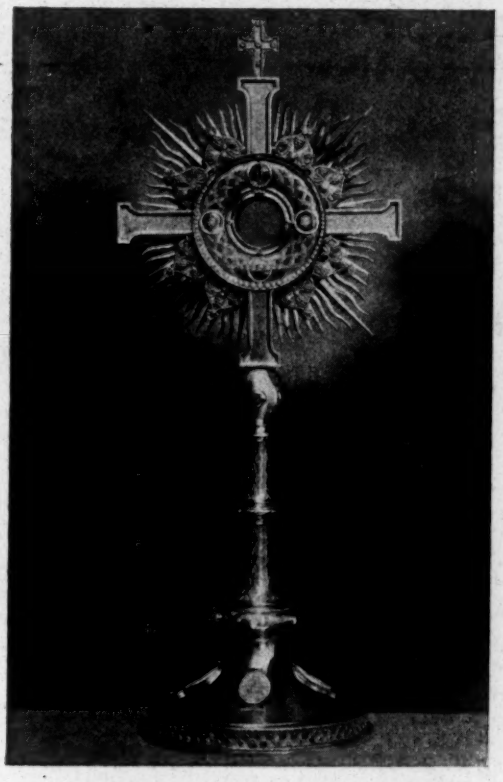

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